

To
MY FATHER-IN-LAW
Lt.-COLONEL F. A. F. BARNARDO, C.I.E., C.B.E.

THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES
OF
HYDERABAD

Volume I
THE CHENCHUS

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THE CHENCHUS

JUNGLE FOLK OF THE DECCAN

BY

CHRISTOPH von FÜRER-HAIMENDORF, PH.D.

With a Foreword

by

W. V. GRIGSON

Indian Civil Service

and

Administrative Notes

by

R. M. CROFTON, C.I.E.

Indian Civil Service

78 Illustrations and a Map

*Published under the auspices of the Government of
His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar*

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PREFACE

AT A TIME when the shadow of war darkens the larger part of the civilized world and many illustrious seats of learning are so close to the sound of battle that research must have been brought almost to a standstill, great responsibility rests with those countries where the work of scholars can continue undisturbed and printing presses still fulfil the function of promulgating their discoveries. To them has fallen the task of tiding science over the present crisis and of promoting such research as cannot be postponed to later years.

Among the branches of science in which any delay in the gathering of material must result in a permanent loss to the world's stock of knowledge is anthropology. Its subject is the rapidly changing cultures of primitive races, and since no exertions of future generations can retrieve what we fail to record in our time, the gratitude of the scientific world is due to those governments and institutions that sponsor the study of primitive peoples and enable anthropologists to publish the results of their investigations.

When I arrived in India in August 1939 with the intention of working among the aboriginal populations of the Deccan and of completing the study of the Konyak Nagas of Assam, which I had begun in 1936 and 1937, conditions for scientific research were anything but favourable. I am therefore all the more indebted to H.E.H. the Nizam's Government for permission to carry out anthropological work among the primitive tribes of the Dominions and for the many facilities afforded to me during its prosecution. During my stay among the Chenchus of the Amrabad Plateau I benefited by the constant assistance of local officials and by the privilege of using Forest Rest Houses and Inspection Bungalows. Now the Hyderabad Government has added to my debt of gratitude by financing the publication of this work. My sincere thanks for this generous support of anthropological research are due to the late Right Honourable Sir Akbar Hydari, former President of H.E.H. the Nizam's Executive Council, whose active interest in Indian Culture of all ages has stimulated so many branches of historical science. In the field of archaeology, Hyderabad ranks already foremost among the Indian States, and in view of its large aboriginal population—a heritage no less valuable than monuments of past epochs—the inclusion of anthropology among the cultural activities under the patronage of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government must be most welcome to students of Indian civilization. I should also like to express my deep thanks to Sir Theodore J. Tasker, C.I.E., O.B.E., I.C.S., and to Mr. R. M. Crofton, C.I.E., I.C.S., for the invaluable assistance which they gave me throughout my work. It was in the summer of 1938 at the

International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences in Copenhagen that I first discussed with Sir Theodore Tasker the possibility of a visit to Hyderabad, and since our arrival in India my wife and I have enjoyed on numerous occasions both his and Lady Tasker's hospitality and their advice and helpfulness has never failed us. A great encouragement in my further work among the aborigines of Hyderabad was Mr. Crofton's readiness to take up my plea for a "Chenchu Reserve," and he has been kind enough to add to this volume an Appendix describing the measures which the Hyderabad Government has recently instituted with a view to safeguarding the Chenchus' interests.

Among those who helped to overcome the difficulties created by the outbreak of the war were Sir Gilbert Laithwaite, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Mr. P. J. Patrick, C.S.I., and my old friend Mr. J. P. Mills, C.I.E., I.C.S.; I take this opportunity of thanking them most heartily for their timely assistance.

I have mentioned already the support given to my investigations by all the local officers of the Amrabad Taluq; my thanks are particularly due to Mr. M. Hasnuddin Khan, Forest Ranger of Amrabad, and Mr. Nazir Ab Khan, Forester at Mananur, for the great trouble they took over my arrangements. I have also to thank my interpreter M. J. Kandasamy Pillai, on whose efficiency and unfailing energy my work was largely dependent.

Dr. A. M. Heron was kind enough to furnish me with information on the geological structure of the Amrabad Plateau, and Dr. B. S. Guha has greatly obliged me by extending to me the facilities of the postal service of the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, while Khan Bahadur Syed Ahmed, Principal of the Central School of Art and Crafts, kindly put at my disposal the services of Mr. D. B. Sarnikar, who has drawn the figures in the text. I have also to thank Mr. R. V. Pillai, Director of the Government Central Press, for his great care and co-operation in printing this volume.

Finally I would like to express my gratitude and appreciation to Mr. W. V. Grigson, I.C.S., for contributing to this book a valuable foreword. Both in Hyderabad and in his hospitable house in Nagpur we have had many discussions on ethnological problems and it is to his extensive experience of the aboriginal tribes of Bastar and the Central Provinces that I owe a great deal of insight into the primitive cultures of the Deccan.

CHRISTOPH VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF.

HYDERABAD-DECCAN,

March 1942.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE.
Foreword	xiii
Introduction	I

PART I.

THE MATERIAL BACKGROUND OF CHENCHU LIFE.

Chapter I Environment	9
Chapter II Appearance and Personal Characteristics	17
Chapter III Dress and Ornament	24
Chapter IV Weapons, Instruments and Household goods	29
Chapter V Settlements and Dwellings	44

PART II.

ECONOMICS.

Chapter VI General Principles of Chenchu Economics	57
Chapter VII Food Collecting	61
Chapter VIII Hunting and Fishing	67
Chapter IX Domestic Animals and Agriculture	73
Chapter X Trade, Barter and Occasional Labour	79

PART III.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

Chapter XI Clans	87
Chapter XII Local Group and Village Community	97
Chapter XIII Family and Kin-Group	107
Chapter XIV The Relationship System	112
Chapter XV Peddamanchi	119

PART IV.

THE PHASES OF LIFE.

Chapter XVI Childhood	127
Chapter XVII Marriage and Sex	132
Chapter XVIII Pregnancy, Childbirth and Name-giving	145
Chapter XIX Illness, Death and Burial	151

PART V.

LAW.

				PAGE.
Chapter XX	Property and Inheritance	..	..	161
Chapter XXI	Breaches of Law and Custom	..	..	167

PART VI.

BELIEFS AND TRADITIONS.

Chapter XXII	Deities and Spirits	..	..	179
Chapter XXIII	The Soul and the Cult of the Dead	..	..	194
Chapter XXIV	Magic, Divination and Dreams	..	..	198
Chapter XXV	Traditions and Stories	..	..	201

PART VII.

THE CHENCHU AT HOME.

Chapter XXVI	Daily Life	..	..	233
Chapter XXVII	Recreation	..	..	237
Chapter XXVIII	Life Stories	..	..	247
Chapter XXIX	Temperament and Character	..	..	263

PART VIII.

CONTACTS AND ACCULTURATION.

Chapter XXX	Strata and Affinities	..	..	277
Chapter XXXI	The Village Chenchus of Hyderabad	..	..	298
Chapter XXXII	The Chenchus of Madras Presidency	..	..	311
Chapter XXXIII	The Prospects for the Future	..	..	320

APPENDICES.

Appendix I	Village Census	..	..	331
Appendix II	Distribution of Chenchus on Upper Plateau	..	..	366
Appendix III	Genealogies	..	..	367
Appendix IV	Number of Children of Women past Child-bearing age.	..	..	368
Appendix V	Distribution of Domestic Animals	..	..	369
Appendix VI	Rates of Income and Expenditure	..	..	370
Appendix VII	Relationship Terms	..	..	372
Appendix VIII	The Creation of a Chenchu Reserve	..	..	375
INDEX	..	..	..	..

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Figure.

1. The valley of the Kistna.
2. Park-land on the Upper Amrabad Plateau.
3. Typical deciduous forest of the Upper Plateau during the cold season.
4. Red sand-stone cliffs on the Kistna River.
5. Rapids of the Kistna in the dry season.
6. The Northern Nallamalais.
7. Ravine with perennial water near Sangrigundal.
8. Dense jungle during the rainy season.
9. The great Shiva temple at Sri Sailam.
10. Monolith and stone-circles near Padra.
11. Yidgaru of Tokal clan : his face and chest smeared with ashes for the dance.
12. Lingaru of Eravalu clan.
13. Paparu of Sigarlu clan.
14. Gangaru of Tokal clan.
15. Guruvaru of Nimal clan.
16. Yidgaru of Tokal clan.
17. Gengi of Tokal clan.
18. Lingaru of Sigarlu clan.
19. Kanama of Nimal clan.
20. Gengi of Sigarlu clan.
21. Lingi of Eravalu clan.
22. Vidama of Nallapoteru clan.
23. Guruvi of Nimal clan.
24. Bow-making.
25. Forming the sinew-harness of the bow-string.
26. The drawing of the bow.
27. The release.
28. Stringing the bow.
29. Gangaru of Nimal clan in conversation.
30. Lingaru of Nimal clan playing a pan-pipe.
31. Guruvaru of Menlur clan, who suffers from yaws, making a basket.
32. The making of a house-door.
33. The peddamanchi of Malapur with his kineri.
34. Lingaru of Nimal clan drinking from a tank.
35. Chenchus crossing the Kistna on a raft.
36. Chenchus bathing in a shallow pool.
37. The permanent village of Appapur.
38. The summer settlement of Koman Penta.
39. The jungle settlement of Boramacheruvu.

Figure.

40. Rock-shelter in the Kistna valley.
41. Thatching a permanent house.
42. Hitching the rafters over the forked centre pole.
43. Houses at Pulaejelma.
44. Temporary leaf-shelter.
45. Temporary grass-hut.
46. Hair-dressing.
47. Digging for edible tubers.
48. Chenchu bow-man.
49. Spreading out the fruits of *Buchanania latifolia* to ripen in the sun.
50. Straightening a digging-stick.
51. Plucking the fruits of *Buchanania latifolia*.
52. Tree-climbing in search of honey.
53. Sowing Indian corn.
54. Lingi of Tokai clan with her small daughter.
55. Children on the banks of the Kistna.
56. Propitiating a minor deity with offerings of rice and dhal.
57. Ceremony at the burning ground during the funeral feast.
58. The submerging of food-offerings during the funeral feast.
59. Shaving the head of the deceased's son during the funeral feast.
60. Drinking mohua liquor from leaf-cups.
61. Distilling mohua liquor.
62. Prayer during a ceremony to avert disease.
63. Chenchu dancing with stick and knife.
64. Tuning the drums over a fire.
65. Dancers of Pulaejelma, their bodies smeared with ash.
66. Dance at Boramacheruvu.
67. The peddamanchi of Boramacheruvu enacting a hunt.
68. Phase in a dance at Rampur during the mohua season.
69. Phase in a dance at Rampur.
70. Guruvaru of Nimal clan smoking a bidi.
71. Gangaru and Gengi setting out on the daily quest for food in the parched jungle.
72. Village Chenchu of Mulkamavadi.
73. Village Chenchu girl of Mananur.
74. Chenchu settlement at Mananur.
75. Chenchu mud-houses at Mulkamavadi.
76. Chenchu of Sri Sailam wearing a sacred thread.
77. Chenchu of Bairluti.
78. Chenchu of Bairluti.

FOREWORD

The Chenchus is the first of a series of monographs to be written by Baron Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf on the aboriginal tribes of Hyderabad; this foreword is written primarily as a foreword to the whole series. The Nizam's Deccan remains one of the greatest blanks on the ethnographic map of India; the literature about its peoples is small and little known. The late Syed Siraj-ul-Hassan conducted a partial ethnographic survey in the second decade of this century, but neither he nor his staff had had any anthropological training, and he himself was severely handicapped by failing sight. Only the first volume of the results was published.¹ While this contains much of value and interest, it is based too little on original investigation, and too much on the previously published ethnographies of Bombay and Central Provinces and unchecked local information. Then there are past Census Reports. As in the provinces, so in Hyderabad State the interest taken in ethnic problems by successive Census Superintendents has varied enormously. Useful information is given in the State Census Reports of 1911, 1921, and 1931, particularly the glossary of castes and tribes at pp. 237-263 of Chapter XI of the 1921 Report and Mr. Ghulam Ahmad Khan's description of the Chenchu tribe in pp. 260-276 of the 1931 Report. The census literature as a whole, however, is as inaccurate as Syed Siraj-ul-Hassan's unfinished work, nor have successive Census Reports been consistent either in their descriptive accounts of tribes and castes, or even in the recorded figures and nomenclature of the tribes. The Hyderabad volume is one of the least satisfactory volumes of the Imperial Gazetteer series, and is particularly ill-informed on ethnography. There are no descriptive Gazetteers of the districts of the State (except the good Aurangabad Gazetteer of 1884, which gives interesting short accounts of the castes and tribes of that district), so that in Hyderabad neither census worker nor ethnologist can start his enquiries from those detailed summaries of previous knowledge of the ethnography of the districts on which he is working which are a general feature of the district gazetteers of the Provinces of India and of several States. Many a Hyderabad official, if asked to what caste a villager belongs, will answer that he is a Hindu, one Hindu being to him the same as another; if he goes so far as to distinguish primitives or aborigines from Hindus he uses of them the generic term "Bhil" or "Gond-o-Bhil." This ignorance of or indifference to the distinctions between the different sections of his fellow-subjects is due to the urban outlook of the average Hyderabad official who has almost always been born and bred in the capital or one of the few large towns. This ignorance tends also to blind him to the suffering and the loss of land and of economic freedom that result in the backward areas when Hindu, Rohilla or Arab cultivators, contractors, traders and money-lenders are allowed freely to exploit the aborigines. In such records therefore as can be traced of dealings between the governing classes of Hyderabad and the aboriginal and backward tribes little will be found of deliberate oppression or of positive policy. *Laissez faire* has been the governing principle, but, as everywhere in India, and not least in Hyderabad, *laissez faire* more than anything else has ruined the aboriginal and turned him into a landless drudge and serf.

1. *The Castes and Tribes of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions, Bombay*, 1920.

The Government of His Exalted Highness has therefore welcomed and financially encouraged Baron Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf's investigations and is publishing their results as much for their value in helping Government and its officers to formulate a sound policy for the administration of backward areas and the protection and economic rehabilitation of the aborigines, as because of the importance to science of recording all that is distinctive and individual in the aboriginal way of life before the growing uniformity of Indian civilization obliterates the record. Science too has still to solve the problems of the origins of India's races, and to test by detailed investigation the value of such theories as Eickstedt's great hypothesis referred to at pp. 2, 3, and 18 of this book. Dr. von Fürer-Haimendorf's work has not included anthropometry, but his elucidations of the habitat and distribution of the tribes which he has studied, his admirable and numerous photographs, and such detailed analyses of cultures and culture-contacts as the account of Chenchu strata and affinities in Chapter XXX of this book will prove most valuable to present and future generations of ethnologists.

What aboriginal tribes are found in the Nizam's Dominions? As we have seen, the literature is scanty and inconsistent. Administrative records, whether of special steps taken, or of the establishment of Hyderabad rule in such areas as the Gond country in the north-east of Adilabad District on its transfer from Bhonsla rule in 1803, are difficult to trace, though some may exist among the old Persian documents in the various *Daftars* of the State or of former Ministers. Of two tribes which will be the subject of later monographs in this series, one, the Hill Reddi, is not mentioned in Hyderabad Census Reports or other official records, and the other, the Kolam, if at all referred to, is briefly and wrongly dismissed as a Gond sub-tribe. There is no clear identification (very little mention even) in any literature of the Naikpod,¹ a tribe which is fairly numerous in Adilabad, Karimnagar and Warangal Districts and includes sections very primitive in type and culture and addicted like the Kolam to shifting hoe-cultivation. In a recent tour of the Both and Kinwat Taluqs of Adilabad the Haimendorfs have discovered a section of Naikpod speaking a language of their own, in which they call themselves Kolavar,² a name also used of themselves by Kolami-speaking Kolam; this Naikpod language, while somewhat different in vocabulary from Kolami, so far resembles it that Naikpod listeners can to some extent follow Kolami conversation. This, and the fact that Kolam and Naikpod alike practise hoe-cultivation, indicates a hitherto unsuspected cultural and racial relation. Another tribe before the 1941 census recorded in Hyderabad as Gond or confused with the nomadic Pardhi tribe is the well-known Pardhan tribe, the musicians and bards of the Gond, who elsewhere in India have always been accorded a separate identity.

The Andh, regarded in the Central Provinces and Berar as a forest and hill tribe, in Hyderabad literature are sometimes placed also in that category, but more often described as a caste of hinduized cultivators and landowners. In western Adilabad the Andh are certainly fairly recent immigrants, very hinduized, and like other Hindus have helped to dispossess Gond cultivators. But I have seen Andh in the forest tracts of the adjacent Nander District who, though less advanced than the hinduized Andh of Berar, and less primitive than most Hyderabad aborigines,

1. Imperial Table XIV shows Naikpod as having been included in Gond. No separate figures are given for them, nor can much reliance be placed on the assertion that all Naikpod were enumerated as Gond.

2. The name Kolaver at once strikes one by its close similarity to Korava or Koraver, names used of the Erakala tribe recorded below as 45,771 strong in Hyderabad State. See article Koracha at pp. 583-619, *The Mysore Tribes and Castes*, Vol. III.

nevertheless, definitely are a forest tribe: in his book *Sport in the Deccan* Brigadier-General Burn¹ wrote not many years ago of expert tracking by Andh shikaris in Nander forests, an indication that not all Andh have as yet lost that primitive skill which remains a hall-mark of the forest tribe.

In Bombay, the Central Provinces and Berar the Koli continue to be regarded as an aboriginal tribe. Old Marathi documents² commonly used the words "Nahal, Bhil and Koli" as a generic term for hill-robbers. Bilgrami and Willmott³ speak of Koli as probably "a mongrel race" "sprung from alliances formed between Hindus and aboriginal tribes." The Aurangabad Gazetteer⁴ of 1884 describes the 6,718 Koli then in Aurangabad District as "aborigines" "of low but respectable caste" who were "divided into the Kolis of the hilly countries and the Kolis of the plains." The caste index in Part III of the State Census Report of 1891 describes the Koli as graziers 270,208 in number, with 131 named sub-castes,⁴ and appears to identify them with the totally distinct Kohli agricultural caste. They are not mentioned in the Hyderabad volume of the Imperial Gazetteer. The Census Reports of 1901 and 1911 gave their numbers as 236,884 and 266,840 respectively. Siraj-ul-Hassan in his article on the tribe⁵ neither suggests that they are aborigines nor gives their numbers. The 1921 Census Report reduced their numbers to 39,819, while the 1931 Report recorded 52,472 (of whom 31,935 were in Aurangabad, 5,200 in Parbhani and 3,046 in Bir Districts). No Hyderabad census before 1941 classified them as an aboriginal tribe. This has first been done in the 1941 Imperial Table XIV (Selected Tribes by Districts), which, however, shows their total strength as 237, all from Adilabad District; this is a veritable reduction to absurdity of a tribal caste once shown as more than a quarter of a million strong, and is a glaring example of the vagaries of Hyderabad tribe and caste returns. The 1921 Census Report did actually approach Russell and Hiralal's⁶ view that the Koli of the Central Provinces are "a primitive tribe akin to the Bhils" by quoting at p. 219 Risley's view that they are a former tribe converted into a caste by the gradual acceptance of Hinduism. In Hyderabad, as in the Central Provinces and in Berar, they are undoubtedly almost fully hinduized except perhaps for a few hill Koli, are economically in a fairly sound position and present practically no "aboriginal" or administrative problem.⁷

These census vagaries are again exemplified by the figures of Gond and Koya, the two largest aboriginal communities in the Nizam's Dominions. The Koya are a teluguized tribe of Gond or of Maria Gond and speak a fundamentally Gondi dialect strongly influenced in inflexion and vocabulary by Telugu; but they retain for themselves the name Koi or Koya, by the plural form (Koitor) of which the Gondi-speaking Gond or Maria or Muria calls himself, wherever he be found and however divergent his customs and culture from the norm of the Satpura plateaux. According to census records the Koya population of the Dominions has varied from 45,300 in 1881 to 60,897 in 1891, 46,714 in 1901, 25,029 in 1921, 33,638 in 1931 and 31,094 in 1941, while the corresponding figures for Gond other than Koya have

1. See Russell and Hiralal, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, Vol. III, p. 533.

2. *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of H.H. the Nizam's Dominions* (Bombay, 1883), Vol. I, pp. 309-10.

3. At p. 280.

4. Many of these seem to be "house-names" of sub-sections of exogamous septs.

5. *Castes and Tribes of the Nizam's Dominions*, pp. 332-8.

6. *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, III, p. 532.

7. I therefore omitted Koli from all the recommendations in my Report, *The Aboriginal Problem in the Central Provinces and Berar*, now in the press.

been 39,513, 37,995, 55,761, 98,879, 113,280 and 142,046. These figures omit the 1911 census, because in it Koya were not enumerated separately, but included in Gond, the combined total being 124,341. Except for a few scattered Gond in other parts of the State, they are almost confined to the three districts shown in the table below:—

District	Tribe	Census Years			
		1911	1921	1931	1941
Karimnagar	Koya	.. ¹	1,207	1,131	601
	Gond	3,503	..	..	2,232
	Total	3,503	1,207	1,131	2,833
Warangal	Koya	.. ¹	17,593	21,376	22,481
	Gond	65,143	49,334	52,586	67,229
	Total	65,143	66,927	73,962	89,710
Adilabad	Koya	.. ¹	5,695	9,858	7,990
	Gond	54,852	47,045	57,244	71,874
	Total	54,852	52,740	67,102	79,864
Total, all 3 districts.	Koya	.. ¹	24,495	32,365	31,072
	Gond	123,498	96,379	109,830	141,335
	Total	123,498	120,874	142,195	172,407

According to the censuses Koya have decreased from over 60,000 in 1891 to 31,094 in 1941 in the whole State, while Gond (minus Koya) have in the same period increased from 38,000 to 142,000. But the variations in the figures for these tribes in individual districts are so marked and so indicative of confusion between Koya and other Gond or Koitor that we cannot safely infer a real decline in the numbers of Koya. The Table above begins with 1911, because the districts had not attained their present boundaries till 1905, and no district tribal figures can be traced for 1901. The 1881 census recorded 4,831 Gond and 3,093 Koya in Karimnagar² District, 1,132 Gond and 39,990 Koya in Warangal³ District and in the Adilabad, Rajura, Sirpur and Asifabad Taluqs of modern Adilabad District (which then made up the old Sirpur-Tandur District) 31,937 Gond and no Koya at all. According to the 1891 census there were no Gond in Karimnagar and Warangal except Koya, and no Koya, but only Gond in Sirpur-Tandur. In 1905 Adilabad District was formed by adding to Sirpur-Tandur the Lakshattipet and Chinnur Taluqs of Karimnagar (which contained probably most of the Gond and Koya previously enumerated in Karimnagar District)⁴ and those parts of Nirmal, Both and Kinwat Taluqs formerly in Indur District.⁵ These changes of district boundaries make comparison even harder, but the figures in the above table for the

1. Koya were included in Gond in the 1911 census.
2. Then known as Elgandal District.
3. Then known as Khammamet District.
4. There are still 100 or 200 Gond on the south bank of the Godavari in the Jagtial Taluq of Karimnagar.
5. Indur is now Nizamabad.

censuses taken after the demarcation of the present boundaries both show an apparent switch-over from Koya to Gond since 1921 in Karimnagar, and present the enigma of the source of the Gond (as distinct from Koya) recorded in such large and increasing numbers in 1921, 1931 and 1941 in Warangal District, where a bare 1,132 had been recorded in 1881 and none at all in 1891. If we take Gond and Koya together, there has been a rapid increase interrupted only by the small set-back caused in 1921 by the decimating influenza epidemic of 1918-19. As there is no record of migration of Koya from Warangal to adjacent Madras territory or to Bastar State, and no record of immigration into the district of Gond, it is logical to attribute the fall of nearly 30,000 in Koya since 1891 and some part of the great increase in other Gond either to errors of enumeration and classification or to a move among the Koya tribesmen to adopt the fashionable and hinduized name Gond.

To the question already posed, what are the aboriginal tribes of Hyderabad, we still get only a partial and unscientific answer even from the 1941 census. There Imperial Table XIII puts the total tribal population of the State at 678,149 or about 42 per mille. But in this aggregate no fewer than 404,614 were Banjara.¹ Leaving this great tribe for the present out of account, since it cannot be regarded as "aboriginal," though undoubtedly backward, tribally organized, and retaining strong nomadic tendencies and even practices, the table records as tribes and as the 1941 strength of each tribe, Gond (142,026), Erakala or Yerukala (45,771, including 4,456 Korvi or Korwa), Koya (31,094), Andh (19,313), Bhil (18,021), Pardhi (4,805), Gowari (4,036), Chenchu (3,865), Hill Reddi (1,834), Pardhan (1,583), Kolam (746) and Koli (251). The census staff learnt too late of the clear distinction between Pardhan, the bards of the Gond, and Gond proper, completely to avoid the old practice of treating the former as a branch of the latter, and therefore Pardhan² must be rather more numerous than 1,583. The order separately to enumerate Kolam also came too late as already too many enumerators had followed the old Hyderabad practice of treating Kolam as a Gond sub-tribe. Probably between 2,000 and 3,000 Kolam have been included in Gond. If Mannevarlu, who appear to be teluguized Kolam, could also be accurately recorded, the Kolam numbers might rise to 5,000 or more; there are also in western Adilabad many detribalized Kolam who have lost their Kolami language and speak Marathi. In the bordering Berar District of Yeotmal, there were in 1941 nearly 30,000 Kolam, of whom almost all spoke Kolami; this language, entirely distinct from Gondi, is not recorded separately in Hyderabad language tables, but included in Gondi, which is recorded in 1941 as spoken by 141,686 persons³ out of a Gond, Koya, Pardhan, Gowari and Kolam population of 179,485.⁴ All the Gowari but 45 were returned from Karimnagar District; probably they represent graziers of Gond and Koya affinities.

The best account perhaps of the Erakala or Yerukala, *alias* Korvi or Korwa, will be found in the article Koracha in Anantakrishna Iyer's *The Mysore Tribes and Castes*, Vol. III, pp. 583-619. He describes them as "a tribe of hunters, fortunetellers, cattle-breeders, carriers, basket-makers and thieves," found all over Mysore,

1. Including Lambara, Labhani and Mathula, but not the completely settled and hinduized agriculturist section generally referred to as Wanjari.

2. In previous censuses they were often confused with Pardhi.

3. This includes the speakers of the Koya dialect, not enumerated separately in the Hyderabad Census.

4. As another curious example of the vagaries of successive censuses the 1931 census recorded only 76,087 Gondi-speakers out of 146,918 persons recorded as Gond and Koya; Gowari, Pardhan and Kolam were then probably all enumerated as Gond.

the Madras Districts of South Arcot, Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Coimbatore, the Bombay Districts of Belgaum, Bijapur and Dharwar, and the Deccan States. They speak Tamil, Telugu or Kanarese according to the locality in which they live, but among themselves "speak a corrupt polyglot in which the words derived from different languages bear little resemblance." Iyer speaks of them as one of the aboriginal tribes of the south in the process of hinduization and mentions Oppert's view that they must have been of the same stock as the Vedans (*sic*) of Ceylon, and the Abbe Dubois' comparison of them to the Gypsies of Europe. In Hyderabad State they have not been studied. They occur in every district, though rarely in the Marathi districts, and are most numerous in the Telugu districts, especially Warangal (8,397), Nalgonda (8,383), Mahbubnagar (8,178), Karimnagar (6,040) and Medak (4,930). In 1941, 43,911 persons were returned as speaking the Erakala or Kaikadi language, against a total Erakala population of 45,771; presumably this "language" is the polyglot mixture referred to above. Eickstedt in Chapter I contributed by him to Vol. I of *The Mysore Tribes and Castes* classified the Mysore Koracha (Korava) as largely of "Melanid" blood "though this wandering tribe, as is to be expected in view of their customs, have always comparatively quickly adapted themselves to their somatic surroundings"¹ for him the "Malid" sub-race of the "Weddid" group and his "Melanid group" are the dark-skinned descendants of the former "Indo-Negrists."² The Pardhi are a similar nomadic semi-criminal semi-hunting tribe, commonest in Hyderabad City and in the northern districts.

Of the 18,021 Bhil in 1941, 16,106 were recorded from Aurangabad and 815 from Bir District. These Bhil are of course a fraction only of the great Bhil tribe of Rajputana, western Central India, Nimar and Khandesh, and do not seem to be concentrated in particular localities even in Aurangabad. This is natural. Historically they were the village watchmen or *jaglias* of the passes leading from the Deccan into the plains of Khandesh and Berar, so that naturally there were no concentrations in entirely Bhil villages, but only a few Bhil houses in each Hindu village. The cruel oppression to which the Maratha Government subjected them in the anarchy that followed the death of Aurangzeb and the break-up of his empire turned them into wild and plundering outlaws who for long were the scourge of the Khandesh and western Berar plains. The Hyderabad Residency contains many records of the steps taken to stop their lawlessness; even after comparative order had been restored in Khandesh and Ahmadnagar by the British Bhil Agents (Outram, Ovens and others), for many years the unsettled Bhil of the plateaux³ above the Ajanta Hills and their western extensions continued to raid the settled villages of the plains until the Nizam's Government substantially adopted the Bombay plans of conciliation, confirmation by written engagements of the Bhil watchmen's right to collect a village cess as remuneration, and enlistment of local Bhil in a Hill Rangers' Company of the Hyderabad Contingent, similar to the famous Bhil Corps of Khandesh. The description of the Bhil of Aurangabad given by Bilgrami and Willmott,⁴ and reproduced below is the best summary of their past history and probably remains substantially true of their present state, save in so far as they have

1. *The Mysore Tribes and Castes*, I, p. 70.

2. *Ibidem*, pp. 38-9.

3. A major obstacle was the complicity of Hyderabad *amildars*, *jagirdars*, *deshmukhs*, and *patels* in Bhil forays, from which they often received a large share of the booty, especially stolen cattle.

4. *Loc. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 322-5.

The *Aurangabad Gazetteer* of 1884 gives further details of former Maratha oppressions, including a treacherous wholesale massacre by Maratha officials of Bhil guests at Kannar.

been since more and more hinduized :—

“ When the Moghuls invaded Khandesh and the Dekhan in the beginning of the 17th Century, they found the Bhils hard working and loyal subjects, and under the Moghuls they continued quiet and orderly. When, however, the Mahrattas rose to power they could not keep the Bhils in suppression. They were treated as outlaws and flogged and hanged for the slightest offence. ‘ Exposed to the sun with his nose slit and his ears stripped from his head, the Bhil was burnt to death on the heated gun or in the embraces of the red-hot iron chair.’ From a high cliff near Antur, a hill fort in the Aurangabad District, hundreds were yearly hurled to destruction. After the subjugation of the Mahrattas by the British kind measures and fair dealing were employed to bring them to order. From 1818 until their final quiescence in 1827 the Bhils were the cause of much trouble. Those in the Ajanta hills raided into Khandesh, and sacked villages and carried off or murdered their chief inhabitants. Vigorous measures were taken against them by the British Government, but it was found that a conciliatory policy was best in the end. Under Outram Bhil agencies were established, one of which was at Kanad and others in the Ajanta hills which form the boundary between His Highness’s Dominions and the province of Khandesh. Since that period, with the exception of a partial outbreak during the Mutiny, the Bhils have given but little trouble. As in the British province (Khandesh) below the hills, many of the Bhils have taken to agriculture and other peaceful callings, but they are usually very poor. ‘ Thriftless, fond of spirits and loathing steady work, the Bhil is simple, faithful and honest. The women in former times went to battle, sometimes using slings with great effect, and have much influence over the men. The Bhils are fond of amusement and excitement, hunting and fishing, playing games of chance, telling stories, singing to the accompaniment of the six-stringed fiddle, and dancing.’ Their principal musical instruments are the drum, bagpipes and the fiddle just mentioned. They have no temples and only erect sheds over their most sacred images.”

After the restoration of order following the Mutiny, the Hyderabad Bhil passed into obscurity and, on the whole, neglect. Some effort was however made to educate them by the Police Department, so as to wean them from surviving criminal tendencies. Between 1902 and 1907 the police started six Bhil schools in Aurangabad District and a Bhil industrial school in Bir, the last under private management supported by grants-in-aid, but working in direct liaison with the police: the six village schools cost only Rs. 804 annually, while annual scholarships worth Rs. 540 were paid to Bhil boys at the Bir school from Local Funds. In 1907 there were 153 Bhil boys in the Bir school and 162 in the Aurangabad village schools, and the Director-General of Police claimed that the schools had exercised a beneficial civilising influence and led to a perceptible decrease of crime; five Bhil pupils had been enlisted in the police. Unfortunately in 1909 these special schools were transferred to the regular Education Department without any arrangement being made to provide funds, and while this was under protracted correspondence “ salaries were discontinued and teachers and schools seem to have vanished.”¹ So died the only

1. *Report on Education in H.H. the Nizam’s Dominions and Proposals for its Reorganization*, by Arthur Mayhew, I.E.S., Educational Adviser to the Nizam’s Government (Hyderabad, 1911) pp. 258-260.

positive step taken in the Hyderabad State for aboriginal welfare between 1838 and 1938.¹

Let us return briefly to the Banjara tribe. This tribe must not be regarded as aboriginal, in view of its undoubted Rajputana origin, but has clearly been influenced by aboriginal contacts in the long centuries during which, in peace and war alike, it was the principal carrier of goods between northern and southern India. It is recorded that in the Nimar district of the Central Provinces Gond and Korku aborigines used in the carrying days to be admitted into the Banjara community, and there is little doubt that this admission of members of local tribes into the community was far more extensive than would be confessed by the modern Banjara with his practice of limiting such admission to the higher Hindu castes, and that only after a probation of three generations;² in the Deccan the average crowd of Banjara men and women will reveal faces recalling almost all the racial types that would be met on a journey from Rajputana across Central India, the Central Provinces, the Nizam's Dominions and Mysore to Madras, except the darkest Malids and Melanids. Eickstedt³ draws attention to Gondid elements alongside Indid and Orientalid strains in this "exceptionally hybrid people" and laments the absence of any authoritative survey of the extent and manner of these intermixtures. A detailed study of the modern Banjara is long overdue; let us hope that someone will be found to undertake this in the Deccan, than which no better field for such work could be found. In Hyderabad the tribe is rapidly becoming a settled community, primarily of cattle-breeders and to an increasing extent of agriculturists, though the original profession of carrier even now is not dead. As a corollary of the fact that the tribe immigrated originally into the Deccan from Northern India, and has had to find new occupations as modern transport and communications gradually deprived bullock-carriers of their traditional means of livelihood, the Banjara has, after a period in which he was regarded as a wandering criminal, naturally become pasture-hungry and land-hungry and so, in the undeveloped tracts of Adilabad, Karimnagar and Warangal, an exploiter and expropriator of the aborigines. In Berar the Government extends to the Banjara in the Melghat the same protection from land alienation as the Gond, the Korku and the Nahal, but such a policy would be wrong in Adilabad, where the Banjara (especially the Mathura section) is steadily dispossessing the Gond and the Kolam of their lands.

In ethnological work in India a natural tendency has been to single out for the first detailed studies the most primitive tribes. This is inevitable; many such tribes are greatly reduced in numbers and in the power of retaining their ancient ways in the face of modern contacts with civilised neighbours, and there is little time left for science to record the ancient ways before their final obliteration. Therefore in the first two volumes of this series Baron Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf concentrates on two numerically small communities, the Chenchu and the Hill Reddi. In his later book on the Adilabad Gond he will be giving us a full-size study of a still vital branch of one of the most important tribes of India, which though increasingly responsive to modern stimuli remains so numerous and so conscious of its own culture and traditions as to be able, if helped by a wise administrative policy, to make its own contribution to India's future. In its essentials the Gond problem is

1. A completely forgotten Persian Circular (No. 27 of 1291 F. or 1882 A.D.) was issued by the Revenue Department drawing attention to the work done by the Central Provinces Administration to settle nomadic aborigines in Mandla and Balaghat Districts, and directing similar efforts to be made in the unoccupied lands of Hyderabad State.

2. *The Mysore Tribes and Castes*, II, pp. 177-9.

3. *Ibid.*, I, p. 67.

the same in Hyderabad as the aboriginal problem in the Central Provinces or other parts of India, though more acute because of the greater neglect and the lower district administrative standards of the past, which have left the Hyderabad aboriginal entirely at the mercy of the exploiter, whether the land-hungry Kunbi and Kapu, the Arab or Pathan Shylock, the Hindu money-lender, the forest or excise contractor, the Poor Muslim¹ or the unscrupulous official. We have to restore and foster the aboriginal's self-respect by protecting him from loss of land, bond-service, debt and oppression, to shield him from malaria, yaws and other sickness, to teach him an agriculture and an economic organisation suited to his habitat and mentality, and to educate him not merely to retain and value his own tribal culture but also to take and hold his due place in the economic, political and cultural life of modern India. The contribution to the solution of the problem that a study even of so small a tribe as the Chenchu can make will be clear to the readers of Part VIII of *The Chenchus*, especially the accounts of the wretched detribalized Chenchu of the lower Aurangabad plateau and the Dindi valley, and of the results of the Chenchu "uplift" policy followed by the Madras Government. I betray no secret if I add that Baron C. von Fürer-Haimendorf has in all his travels among the Hyderabad aborigines supplemented his scientific work by a series of tour-diaries and notes on administrative problems which have been of the greatest help to Government and its officers in the rectification of mistakes and grievances, and the gradual formulation of a new policy.

As an ethnologist the Baron can in the time yet available to him hardly do more than explore the problems and culture-contacts of the Telugu areas of the Godavari valley and adjacent hills in the districts of Adilabad, Karimnagar and Warangal, and of the Nallamalai Hills and Krishna valley tracts of southern Mahbubnagar. This will, it is hoped, result in further books on the Hill Reddi, the Gond of Adilabad and the Kolam, and perhaps also a general volume on the remaining aboriginal tribes of the Nizam's Dominions, both inside and outside this Telugu contact area; further tours may well yield further discoveries of new tribes or clarify old mis-classifications of distinct tribes as sections of larger tribes. This will still leave wide fields for further anthropological research. The Kanarese-contact areas of south-western Hyderabad along the Krishna valley and the western hills call out for examination, especially of the Bedar and of the fishing and hunting castes along the Krishna and Tungabhadra valleys. The Marathi Districts of Parbhani, Nander, Aurangabad and Bir besides being the home of the Bhil and the Andh are of special interest as the area where Marathi culture shades off into Kanarese and Telugu, and where perhaps Maratha villages may show most strongly the tribal and pre-Aryan elements underlying Maratha caste organisation. Above all, village life remains less modernised in most parts of Hyderabad than in British India, and offers much scope for a combination of anthropology and sociology: a synthetical study of the entire life of a Hyderabad Taluq would be a useful corrective to the impression of isolation and individualism sometimes created by detailed analyses of single small tribes. For the census selection of what should be classed as "tribes" is eclectic and unscientific: in the Deccan 'tribe' rather than 'caste' would still be a truer term for the Bedar² hunting, warrior and agricultural tribe of Gulbarga and Raichur, the Besta, Dhimar and other fishing tribes, the Golla, Dhimar, Gowari, Kuruba and other pastoral peoples, and the great Waddar³ and Uppara nomadic navvy communities. The Waddar through the centuries has provided

1. Coining a term on the analogy of the Poor White of South Africa.

2. Bedar, Bendar, Beda or Berad.

3. Vodda or Vodder in *The Mysore Tribes and Castes*.

skilled navvy labour on tanks and other public works all over southern India and to this day is the backbone of the Nizam's Public Works Department; has he no store of legend and lore about the labours of his ancestors, no traditions about his age-old wanderings in search of work? Like the Banjara he too has recruited men and women from other communities. The Bedar were "originally a wild tribe living in jungles and mountains and supporting themselves by hunting"¹ and remain tribal in many of their ways. Eickstedt² regards them as "a colonising remnant of the ancillary troops of jungle people who were employed in the struggles of the Chalukyas and Gangas and later by the Muhammadan Sultans," and sees in them Gondid traits combined with a strong admixture of the traits of the original inhabitants. He notes also abundant Gondid elements in the Waddar and Uppara, as in the Banjara. All his suggestions as to the racial origin of similar nomadic pastoral and hunting peoples in Mysore need testing on their Hyderabad fellow-tribesmen.

Wide indeed is the field for the study of man in the Deccan; let us hope that these published results of Baron C. von Fürer-Haimendorf's work will tempt Hyderabadis and other scientists into it. In this the Osmania University should give a lead; she has yet to admit anthropology to her curricula, or to persuade some wealthy Hyderabadis to found a chair of social anthropology.

It is time to leave the reader to *The Chenchus*, the Baron's clear and idiomatic English and his admirable photographs. In many a country war has rudely interrupted anthropological studies: it has for Hyderabad, however, been a pleasant surprise of war that by stranding the Haimendorfs in the Deccan it has made possible the beginning of ethnological study in the Nizam's Dominions. One recent brief tour with the Haimendorfs to Farhabad, the Krishna Gorge, Mannanur and Amrabad is the limit of my personal acquaintance with the Chenchu; during that tour the touching and affectionate pleasure with which the Chenchu everywhere greeted the return of the Haimendorfs after an absence of two years was a remarkable tribute to their success in establishing close and sympathetic contact with whatever tribe they are studying. A lasting result of this tour will, I hope, be to extend the scope of the ameliorative measures outlined in Appendix VIII and the last Chapter of this book to the sorely neglected Village Chenchu of the lower plateau and their fellow-villagers of other communities, and to bring medical and other nation-building help within the reach of all who live on both plateaux, while safeguarding the Chenchu of the forests against premature contacts with the modern world and further loss of what economic freedom he still retains in the face of forest and other laws. Future generations of Hyderabad aborigines will owe a debt of gratitude to the Haimendorfs for their work, both social and scientific, carried out despite exile and malaria; let us only hope that the social work imposed on them by the clamorous response to their efforts to befriend, educate and heal the aboriginal, will neither cramp the Baron's scientific researches, nor dim the brilliance with which he records the results.

W. V. GRIGSON.

Revenue Member's House,
Begampet, Hyderabad,
12th June 1943.

1. *The Mysore Tribes and Castes*, II, p. 198.
2. *Ibidem*, I, pp. 66-7.

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

ANTHROPOLOGY is becoming increasingly an applied science. Today Governments encourage the investigation of those economic and sociological problems which complicate the administration of backward races, and the anthropologist, having largely discarded the purely retrospective point of view, is bent on analysing present-day processes of acculturation and devising schemes for the future of primitive populations. Yet, this practical function of anthropology should not eclipse the important contribution which the study of peoples in early stages of economic and social development can make to the history of mankind. It is true, the claim has long been relinquished that primitive tribes surviving today in remote refuge areas are representative of the forefathers of all mankind, or that their culture is necessarily identical with the culture of the earliest humans, but these tribal groups, however small and numerically insignificant, remain nevertheless of immense value for the science of man. For an intimate knowledge of the most primitive races of our time not only deepens our understanding of sociological processes, more difficult to observe in higher developed societies, and provides us with new alleys to the study of human behaviour in general, but at the same time affords us certain possibilities for a reconstruction of human life in remote epochs. Prehistory, although extremely important in establishing the distribution and sequence of ancient civilizations, can seldom do more than unearth the material aspects of a culture, and it is the knowledge accumulated through the detailed study of contemporary primitive cultures, which supplements the dry data and breathes life into the fragments brought to light through the spade-work of the archæologist.

In recent years several of the most primitive races of South-Eastern Asia have been objects of intensive anthropological research and in some areas the cultures of food-collectors and hunters are better documented than any of the higher civilizations. Since the end of the last century E. H. Man and A. R. Radcliffe-Brown have worked among the pygmies of the Andaman Islands, Ivor H. N. Evans and Paul Schebesta have made most careful investigations of the Negritos of Malaya, Morice Vanoverbergh has devoted many years to the study of the Negrito tribes of Northern Luzon in the Philippine Islands, while C. G. Seligman's classic study of the Veddas of Ceylon

is one of the fullest existing accounts of a race of primitive food-gatherers and hunters. In India, on the other hand, anthropological research has been mainly concentrated on the complex and colourful cultures of the more highly developed aborigines such as Todas, Mundas, Oraons, Gonds, Baigas, Khasis, Nagas and Lepchas, while the humbler and less arresting semi-nomadic dwellers of the jungles, who are splinters of the oldest racial and cultural stratum of the sub-continent, have hitherto received little scientific attention. Numerically weak and scattered in small groups over the forests of the South, they are today bordering on extinction, and there is no time to lose if a record of their culture is to be preserved to posterity.

The importance of these jungle tribes for Indian ethnology becomes at once evident when we view them against the background of the racial history of the sub-continent. Owing to the lack of fossil evidence its early phases are as yet a matter of conjecture and there exists no generally accepted theory on the sequence of racial strata in India, but most scholars agree that a dark-skinned race with wavy or curly hair and very primitive features is the oldest traceable population of the peninsula. Alternatively this population has been connected with the Australians, the Negritos, the Melanesians and the Negroes, but although the recent investigations by B. S. Guha have established definite Australoid traits in some of the South Indian jungle tribes, the exact racial position and affinities of the oldest Indian population need still further clarification. Egon von Eickstedt, who has evolved one of the most comprehensive theories of Indian racial history¹ assumes that in glacial times the peninsula was inhabited by a proto-negrid population, which he describes as the "Indo-Negrists" and considers as having formed part of the belt of Negroid races stretching from Africa over the Andamans, Malaya and Oceania.

The dark-skinned tribes of palaeolithic times were undoubtedly primitive hunters and food-collectors. Living in small groups and leading a more or less nomadic existence, they certainly cannot have formed a very dense population, but they were the sole occupants of the land and the best hunting grounds were therefore at their disposal. Our knowledge of Indian prehistory is still too incomplete to allow us to link this early culture of hunters and collectors with any particular stone-industry, but we are safe in saying that for thousands of years these dark-skinned tribes were the undisputed masters of the vast lands which are now grouped together under the name of India.

Later, probably during one of the interglacial periods, lighter skinned, but also primitive populations appear to have entered the

1. E. von Eickstedt, *Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit*, Stuttgart 1934.

peninsula from the north and to have filtered through the Deccan to the south, even as far as Ceylon. These peoples, who can be conveniently termed Veddids after their most famous modern representatives the Veddas of Ceylon, were, like the darker-skinned Indo-Negrists, hunters and collectors, and so similar were the economic systems of the two races that no barrier arose to preclude close and unrestricted interpenetration.

The populations that resulted from the fusion of the Veddids and the earlier Indo-Negrists form today the oldest surviving racial and cultural stratum in India, and among them it is the Malids¹ of the South who have best preserved their original mode of life. Hard-pressed by wave upon wave of higher developed races they receded gradually into the inhospitable mountains and dense rain-forests, and it is only in such typical refuge-areas that we find them still in compact groups. The main physical characteristics of the Malids are small stature and black-brown skin, curly or wavy hair, a low face, steep forehead with eyes deeply set, a flat and usually broad nose, very full lips, a weak and pointed chin and a slight tendency to prognathism. On the whole, we may consider the Malid as one of the most primitive of human types.

With the advent into India, both from the east and the west of agricultural peoples, who took possession of the fertile plains, the Malid population entered upon their decline. In regions unfavourable to agriculture, however, they certainly continued to live undisturbed for long periods, for when at the beginning of the first millennium B.C. Aryan invaders first penetrated the jungles of the Deccan, they found them inhabited by black-skinned, small, primitive tribes, who though vastly inferior in material culture and organisation attempted to defend their homeland with all the means in their power, thereby arousing the anger of the invaders, who described them as "monkey-folk" and rakshashas. Yet despite these obvious signs of friction there must also have been a certain amount of peaceful intercourse between the aboriginal inhabitants of the jungles and the comparatively civilized new-comers. The monks and the hermits in particular, who went into retreat in the forests, must often have succeeded in making friends with the shy and simple hunting tribes of the woods, for even as late as the middle of the first millennium A.D. this contact was reflected in the famous frescoes of Ajanta, where leaf-clad aborigines carrying bow and arrows are depicted among the elegant personages of the Buddhist Jatakas. And in Ellora I was struck by the

1. The term Malid, which is based on the Dravidian root *mala* (mountain) and has been coined by Eickstedt for the type prevailing among the primitive hill-races of the South, seems preferable to the designation 'Proto-Australoid,' which is used in the Census of India, 1931, to denote the most primitive racial type in South India; for the latter implies a connection with a population outside India, the nature of which is still doubtful.

primitive "Malid" features and the curly hair of the comical *ganas* of the Vaisvakarma chaitya, and perhaps we may assume that these are representations of primitive jungle tribes who roamed the neighbouring woods.

With the growth of the progressive, more highly developed populations, however, the areas still in the hands of the primitive aborigines became increasingly restricted. The open park-like country of the Deccan was taken under cultivation and even the hilly bushlands no longer remained the undisputed domain of the ancient hunters and food-collectors. As step by step their lands were wrench-
ed from them, their numbers decreased, until they became little more than insignificant groups, who sought refuge in isolated and inacces-
sible regions never coveted by later invaders. In contrast to those re-
latively progressive aborigines, who practise agriculture and were thereby enabled to maintain their ranks as the bulk of the population of large parts of Central India,¹ the Malids have survived only in small tribes inhabiting the forests of Southern India, such as the Panyas, Kurumbas and Kanikars in the Western Ghats, the Irulas in the eastern forests of Mysore and the Yanadis in the Nellore District of Madras Presidency. The most northern group of the Malids are, however, the Chenchus, who inhabit the Nallamalai Hills that stretch from the Madras Presidency across the Kistna River into the State of Hyderabad. While most of these groups, as for instance the Panyas of the Wynad, have, although racially surprisingly pure, lost their tribal and economic independence, the Chenchus of Hyderabad have maintained their heritage and still lead their old free forest life; and though it may be argued that through thousands of years and mani-
fold contacts with other peoples their culture must have undergone certain changes, there can be no doubt that they are not only racially but also culturally survivals of most ancient India.

These considerations led me to undertake an ethnological study of the Chenchus of Hyderabad, the literature on whom consists of only a brief description by Gulam Ahmed Khan, published as an Appendix to the Hyderabad Census Report of 1931,² a short anthropological analysis by B. S. Guha³ and notes by J. H. Hutton⁴ and Syed Sirajul-Hassan.⁵ Generations of casual contact with outsiders have done little to alter the fundamental structure of their culture, and their mode of life is now, as it has been from times immemorial, essentially that of a primitive and semi-nomadic tribe of food-collectors.

1. The term Central India is here not used in its political sense, but denotes the part of the peninsula stretching from the Vindhya mountains to the Bay of Bengal.

2. *Census of India, 1931, Vol. XXIII, Part I, pp. 260-276.*

3. *Ibidem, pp. 277-279.*

4. *Census of India, 1931, Vol. I, Part III, B., p. 7.*

5. *The Castes and Tribes of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions, Bombay 1920 pp. 149-152.*

The material of the present monograph was collected during an unbroken stay in the Nallamalai Hills from January to July 1940. I arrived on the Amrabad Plateau, accompanied by my wife, at the end of January and began work in Pulajelma, a Chenchu village near the Forest Inspection Bungalow of Farahabad. After a short stay, when we visited the neighbouring villages of Malapur, Pullapalli, Vatellapalli and Railet, we moved our camp to Boramacheruvu, where the Chenchus built us a hut in their small jungle settlement. This we used as a base camp for the next eight weeks. At the end of February we undertook a tour to Medimankal, Sangrigundal and the Kistna River, followed by another tour in March, when we worked our way through the gorges of the Kistna and visited the various hot weather settlements of Irla Penta on the banks of the river. On both these tours, which at times led us through pathless country, four men of Boramcheruvu carried our luggage and greatly assisted in establishing contact with the various groups of Chenchus we encountered. We returned by way of Sangrigundal and remained in Boramacheruvu until the beginning of April, when we went to Pulajelma for a week and found the mohua season in full swing. Subsequently we visited the Chenchu village at Mananur, and stayed for a short time at Amrabad, from where we made several tours to the Chenchu villages on the lower plateau, such as Padra, Tirmalapur, Upnotla, Jangareddipalli and Mulkamavadi.

Returning to the upper plateau we camped at Sarlapalli and paid short visits to the villages of Koman Penta, Timmaredipalli and Patur Bayal. In May I once more crossed the Kistna with a view to comparing the conditions among the Chenchus of the Kurnool District of Madras Presidency with those prevailing in Hyderabad. In the course of a ten days' tour I visited the Chenchu villages at Sri Sailam, Peddacheruvu, Nagaluti and Bairluti, and then returned to Sarlapalli. The Kistna, which my Chenchu coolies had waded easily on our way to Sri Sailam, had swollen with a few days' rain and when we returned it had become a rushing torrent, over which my luggage had to be transported on an improvised raft.

In the middle of May the first rains started and from this time we made our main camp at Farahabad, undertaking short tours to Appapur and Rampur early in June, when we also revisited Boramacheruvu. The last weeks were spent in checking and compiling the material collected with only occasional visits to nearby villages.

The Chenchus speak today a dialect of Telugu interspersed with a number of Urdu words, and since I started work without a knowledge of Telugu I had to use an interpreter throughout my investigations. At the end of my stay I understood enough to exercise a certain control over the questions and answers, but I was never able to speak to the

Chenchus direct. All anthropologists who have worked among a people with whose language they were conversant, as I have done myself on previous occasions, will realize the handicap of working through an interpreter, but Telugu is not easy and a serious attempt to master so complicated a tongue would have absorbed more time than I could afford to allot in the period at my disposal.

In the following chapters Chenchu names and texts are transcribed phonetically without consideration of Telugu orthography. Those familiar with Telugu will notice that the idiom spoken by the Chenchus varies considerably both in pronunciation and phraseology from standard Telugu. No attempt has been made to attain complete consistency in all the texts by eliminating certain variations in the pronunciation and the use of words. Every text has been recorded exactly as it was dictated by the individual informant; for the transcription consonants have been used with their value in English and vowels with their value in Italian.

According to Ferishta's *History of Dekkan* the Chenchus spoke, as late as the seventeenth century, a language which was ununderstandable to the Telugu peasants in the plains villages.¹ I do not think, however, that too much weight should be attached to this report, which may have been based on a traveller's tale of doubtful authenticity, but we cannot altogether discard the possibility that the Chenchus of those days retained considerable elements of an older language, which has subsequently given way entirely to the Telugu of the neighbouring populations.

1. "Between Kernal and Nudall, where the road runs close under a range of mountains, were seen the inhabitants of them, a wild people, whose language is not in the least understood by the people of the villages below." Ferishta's *History of Dekkan*, by Jonathan Scott. Shrewsbury 1794, p. 84.

PART I

THE MATERIAL BACKGROUND OF CHENCHU LIFE

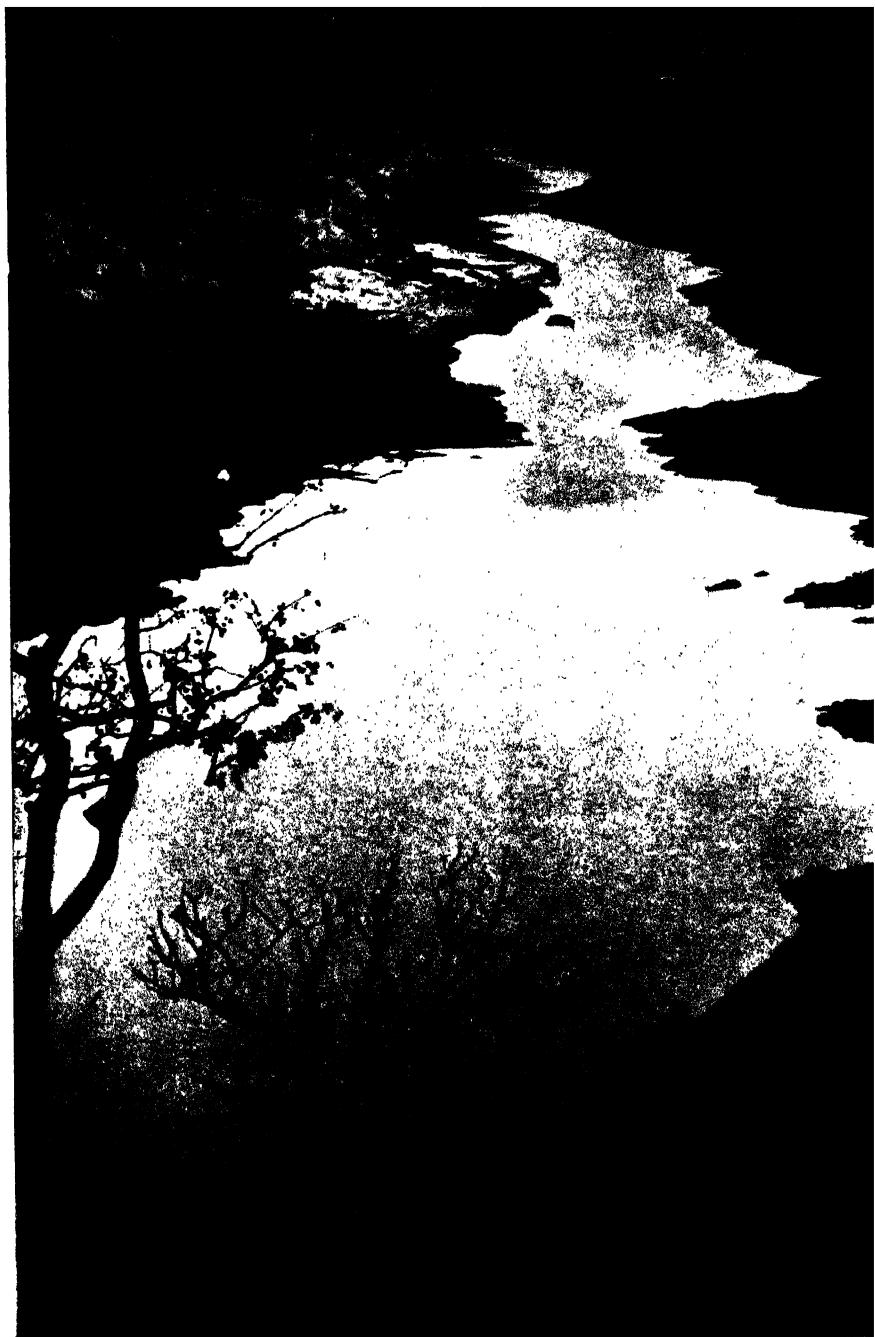


FIG. 1 *The valley of the Kistna.*



FIG. 2. *Park-land on the Upper Amrabad Plateau.*



FIG. 3. *Typical deciduous forest of the Upper Plateau
during the cold season*

CHAPTER I

ENVIRONMENT

THE Chenchus of Hyderabad inhabit the hilly country north of the Kistna River which forms the most northern extension of the Nallamalai Hills and is generally known as the Amrabad Plateau. It lies between 16° and $16^{\circ} 30'$ northern latitude and $78^{\circ} 30'$ and $79^{\circ} 15'$ eastern longitude. The whole of the plateau belongs to the Mahbubnagar District, but a few scattered Chenchus live on the other side of the Dindi River in the District of Nalgonda. In the north the plateau rises steeply about 800 feet over the plains and in the south and east drops precipitously into the valley of the Kistna River. This river, also known as Krishna, though now dividing Hyderabad and Madras Presidency is by no means a natural or an ethnological boundary, for the country of the Nallamalai Ranges south of the river is identical with that of the Amrabad Plateau and is inhabited by Chenchus with whom those of Hyderabad stand in close and constant contact. A later chapter will deal with the Chenchus of Madras, but for the moment we are only concerned with those living north of the Kistna River.

The Amrabad Plateau falls naturally into two definite parts: the lower ledge to the north-east with an elevation of about 2,000 feet, which slopes eastwards to the Dindi River, and the higher ranges to the south-west averaging 2,500 feet. On the lower ledge, where there are large cultivated areas, lie Amrabad, Mananur and other villages inhabited by populations resembling those of the villages of the plains with only here and there small hamlets of Chenchus. The higher ranges are a pure forest area and almost exclusively inhabited by Chenchus.

In the census of 1941, the total number of Chenchus in Mahbubnagar District was returned as 3,280,¹ but only 426 still live in the forests of the upper plateau, for of late years many have emigrated to the edge of the plains or to the Amrabad ledge where they have taken to agricultural coolie work or very exceptionally to independent cultivation. These Village Chenchus have been greatly influenced by the local Hindu population, with whom they live in symbiosis and on whom they are for the most part economically dependent, and it is only those of the forests who still retain their own mode of life, their

1. A comparison of the Census Figures for 1931 and 1941 is given in Chapter XXXI.

economic independence and among whom we still find old Chenchu customs in comparatively pure form. It is therefore mainly the Jungle Chenchus who will form the subject of this monograph while the conditions of those living in plains villages will be briefly described in a separate chapter in order to establish the major effects of the transition to a new mode of life.

Physical Features

The Amrabad Plateau is, like the rest of the Nallamalai Hills, a geological formation belonging to the Archæan age and is made up of the nearly horizontal Sri Sailam or Irlaconda sandstone-quartzites, a stage at the top of the Cuddapah System.¹ These quartzites are a hundred to two hundred feet thick, and their superior hardness, compared with the rocks below them, is the cause of the vertical cliffs which completely surround the plateau, except for the one gap at Mananur. Here they have been denuded away and the underlying granite comes to the surface along the Mananur-Amrabad valley which, but for the small patches of soil which have collected in scarce depressions in the slabby and bouldery surface of the quartzites, is consequently the only cultivable area on the plateau. Along the northern edge of the plateau the quartzites lie unconformably upon the older granites of the central plain of Hyderabad and to the south, where the great gorge of the Kistna divides it from the Nallamalai Hills of the Madras Presidency, the quartzites overlie older formations of the Cuddapahs: shales, impure limestones and cherts, and sills of intrusive dolerite and basalt. These earlier Cuddapahs crop out in the bed of the river with scarps capped by the quartzites rising in places a thousand feet. It is the softness and heterogeneity of these lower rocks, as compared with the strong quartzites, which have caused the formations of the gorge and the deep ravines which dissect the southern part of the plateau.

The highest ranges, which lie to the north directly over the plains, reach heights of more than 2,800 feet, and from there the plateau extends for about 18 miles over rolling hills to the Kistna, when it drops steeply from 2,000 feet to the level of the river bed about 600 feet above the sea. These hills are seamed with narrow valleys which cut through the hills from north-east to south-west. In the rainy season torrents rush through these rocky ravines into the Kistna, but by November most of these mountain streams have run dry and except for the tank close to the ruined temple at Boramacheruvu and the new bore-well at Pulajelma, the only perennial

1. The Cuddapah system is a member of the great group of unfoossiliferous and usually little altered sediments, called in India the Purana, which are an enormous development of the Upper Pre-Cambrian, above the Archæan, and are a special feature of Indian geology.



FIG. 4.
*Red sand-
stone cliffs
on the
Krishna
River.*



FIG. 5. *Rapids of the Kistna in the dry season.*





FIG. 2. *Ratids of the Festuca* in the *Salicornia*.



supplies of water on the crown of the plateau are the sources of springs, which here and there break the surface of sand or ooze through the cracks in the rocks of the stream beds. It is this scarcity of perennial water which is the scourge of the plateau and precludes any large scale permanent settlement; and it is the quest for water that guides the Chenchus in the choice of camping grounds during the hottest months.

The Kistna River, however, which has forced its way from east to west through the Nallamalai Hills carries water throughout the year. A roaring, surging tide, flooding the gorge during the monsoon, it falls in April and May to a clear stream, flanked by yellow sand-banks and stretches of cracked, sunburnt mud; in some places it shrinks within its rocky basin and runs deep, narrow and green, or lingers in tranquil pools at the foot of naked red sandstone cliffs, but in others where the flow is diffused over long stretches of pebbles and boulders it rushes in broad shallow rapids. The difficulty of descent into this gorge, which is a fine example of a canyon excavated entirely by a river, and the climb up the opposite side is undoubtedly one of the greatest deterrents against any through traffic between the districts on either side of the river and one which despite the existence of the great Shiva temple at Sri Sailam in Kurnool has done much to prolong the seclusion of the Chenchus. They themselves, however, care little for the precipitous path and frequently cross the river to "Ettavalla," which is their name for the country on the Madras side of the gorge.

The climate of the Amrabad Plateau is essentially the same as that of the whole of the Central Deccan. There is a hot season which lasts from the middle of February to the end of May, and even in the highest places the temperature rises to about 102° , but in contrast to the plains there are frequent light breezes and the nights are generally cool. The rains start early in June and last with interruptions until the end of September, during which time the rainfall averages 20 inches;¹ only short showers occur during the other seasons. The winter lasting from October to February is remarkably cool and in the last days of January I found the evenings unpleasantly sharp and the nights definitely cold.

Flora

In general character the Chenchu country is a typical refuge area of a tribe of primitive hunters and collectors. The poor quality of the soil on the higher ranges offers little to the cultivator and thus it is

1. In May 1940, when I was on the plateau, there were unusually early rains, and on May 15th 11 inches fell in twenty-four hours. This was exceptional, however, and even old men told me that they had never before had such an experience.

that these forests have remained so long immune from the incursions of the expansive agricultural population of the plains, while yet affording sufficient livelihood to a people dependent on the produce of the woods. The type of forest extending without interruption over slopes and spurs of this northern arm of the Nallamalai Hills varies according to height and soil but it is generally of an open deciduous type and in places even assumes a park-like character. Only the narrow ravines harbour dense, luxurious jungle, containing a number of evergreen trees and shrubs.

This is not the place for a detailed description of the flora of the Amrabad Plateau, nor would I have the ability for such a task. But since the culture of the Chenchu can only be comprehended when viewed against the background of their environment, a short enumeration of the various types of forest may not be superfluous.

While the foothills of the Nallamalais where the rainfall is comparatively scarce, bear only scrub interspersed with a few trees of poor growth, continuous forest covers the higher slopes and the greater part of the plateau. To a height of about 1,400 to 1,500 feet the forest is of an inferior deciduous type, in which the predominant species are *Hardwickia binata*, *Anogeissus latifolia*, *Albizzia amara*, *Dalbergia paniculata*, *Acacia leucophloea*, *Chloroxylon swietenia*, and *Diospyros chloroxylon*. The trees of this type of forest are, as a rule, never more than twenty-five feet in height and are of little value except as fuel and small timber.

On the higher ranges between 1,500 and 2,800 feet, which form the present milieu of the Chenchus, the rainfall is heavier and the vegetation consequently of a richer type. It is here that we find *Tectonia grandis*, *Terminalia tomentosa*, *Pterocarpus marsupium*, *Dalbergia latifolia*, *Grewia tiliaefolia*, *Garuga pinnata*, *Bassia latifolia*, *Terminalia belerica*, *Odina Wodier*, *Terminalia chebula*, *Sterculia urens*, *Sterculia villosa*, *Girotia rottleriformis*, *Miliusia velutina*, *Cassia fistula*, *Sapindus emarginatus*, *Albizzia odoratissima*, *Albizzia Lebbek*, *Diospyros melanoxylon*, *Bombax malabaricum*, *Mundulea suberosa*, *Buchanania latifolia* and *Boswellia serrata*. *Tamarindus indica* and various species of *ficus*, mainly *Ficus bengalensis*, as well as *Mangifera indica* grow near village sites and in the vicinity of water.

A characteristic feature of the forest of the higher regions is the great profusion of climbers such as *Bauhinia Vahlii*, *Vitis latifolia*, *Combretum ovalifolium* and *Cryptolepis Buchanani*, and of grasses such as *Andropogon contortus*, *Schima nervosum* and *Panicum trypperon*; but other undergrowth is comparatively scarce. In sheltered places and particularly near the courses of streams, bamboo, frequently intermixed with trees, grows in abundance; *Dendrocalamus strictus* is the most frequent species, but *Bambusa arundinacea* also occurs.

The enumeration of botanical names will convey only to a few a concrete idea of the habitat of the Chenchu and it may therefore be useful to add my personal impression of the country and its changing face during the period of my stay from January to July.

When I arrived on the plateau at the end of January most of the trees were still covered with leaves, ranging from green, bright yellow and flaming red to a tint of deep violet. The high grass beneath the trees was dry and straw-coloured, but here and there among this autumn landscape stood small bushes covered with pink blossoms. Within the next weeks most of the trees lost their leaves and the stems of the many creepers, whose prolific foliage had formed great curtains between high trees, hung like tangled ropes about the bare branches. As the temperature rose during the next months the forest dried up and fires, partly accidental but more frequently started by the Chenchus themselves, rapidly destroyed the dense, high grass which till then had lent the landscape a luxurious note, thus revealing the true character of the hills and laying bare the stony surface of the ground. By the middle of March the forest presented a scene of complete desolation. The leafless trees offered no shade to man or beast, while underfoot the ground robbed of its grassy cloak lay charred, barren and black, the stony surface radiating the sun's heat. Towards the end of March, however, buds began to appear on some of the leafless trees and soon the arid landscape was brightened by the large carmine flowers of *Bombax malabaricum*, the yellow, stellar blossoms of *Gmelina arborea*, and the creamy trumpet shaped blossoms of *Gardenia latifolia*; clusters of small red figs (*Ficus glomerata*) began to ripen and the first mohua flowers fell to the ground, littering the surface of the earth with white corollæ.

At the end of April several thunderstorms accompanied by fairly heavy rainfall changed the face of the forest within a few days. Young velvety tendrils sprang from the arms of the larger climbers, new leaves developed on many of the trees and cascades of yellow blossom of *Cassia fistula* hung from the branches like golden rain and filled the air with their exotic scent. True, some of the trees still remained bare, but the fresh luscious green of others created, despite the great heat, an atmosphere of spring and the ripening of the purple berries of *Buchanania latifolia*, the fruit of *Ficus bengalensis* and the small jungle mangoes together with an abundance of mohua flower suddenly turned a time of want into a time of plenty for the Chenchus.

By the end of May almost the whole of the forest was clad in new foliage and grass carpeted the ground in level shady places. The monsoon broke early in June and after the first rain storms had swept the plateau every day saw the thickening of the vegetation, while the climbers with their large solid leaves and tangles of white and lemon

tinted flowers rambled over trees, bushes and shrubs, and in places turned the forest into blocks of dense thicket impenetrable to the eye and still more to the human invader. The grass grew rapidly and woodland flowers pushed their way through the soft earth, but colours were scarce and a hard vigorous green relieved only by variations in tone, dominated the picture. The weather was then cool and fresh, hours of sunshine following close on violent downpours.

Fauna

Such is the country of the Chenchus: in the cold weather a pleasant parkland, in the rains a luxurious jungle, and in the hot weather an arid, sun-baked desert. But throughout the year it is inhabited by a great variety of animals, which since in 1941 the upper plateau was declared a game sanctuary and is thus no longer subject to the incursions of the sportsman will undoubtedly multiply. There are considerable numbers of bears, panthers, hyænas, wild cats and wild dogs, and on the southern side of the plateau towards the Kistna, as well as in the vicinity of Mananur, tigers are constantly reported. Of these animals it is the bear the Chenchu considers most dangerous to man, while the panther causes most damage to his young stock. Sambhur, spotted deer, wild goat, nilgai, four-horned antelope and wild pig are hunted by the Chenchu whenever possible, though the lesser animals such as hare, red and grey squirrel, porcupine, brown and grey monkey and several kinds of rats, mice and bats are equally welcome game.

Peacocks and jungle-fowl are plentiful and may often be seen in the higher parts of the hills, and throughout the forests are to be found parrots, doves and pigeons, crows, jays, woodpeckers, wagtails and hosts of smaller birds of brilliant hue. The paradise fly-catcher with his long curling white tail is one of the most conspicuous and there are a great number of birds of prey such as kite, hawk, eagle, and vulture; numerous water birds live near the Kistna and the shores of the tank of Boramacheruvu.

Snakes occur in several species, among them the cobra and a harmless grey water-snake, but they are not particularly plentiful. The Indian monitor, a large arboreal lizard, is hunted eagerly by the Chenchus, and smaller lizards of various kinds are found in great numbers. Crocodiles are said to live in the pools of the Kistna. In all seasons there are multitudes of vividly coloured butterflies and moths, several kinds of bees and wasps, and near wells, streams or pools numerous bright-winged dragon-flies. Huge ant heaps, often four or five feet high, are dotted over the forest, and many trees are disfigured by the activities of white-ants. Although mosquitoes, anopheles as well as others, are not



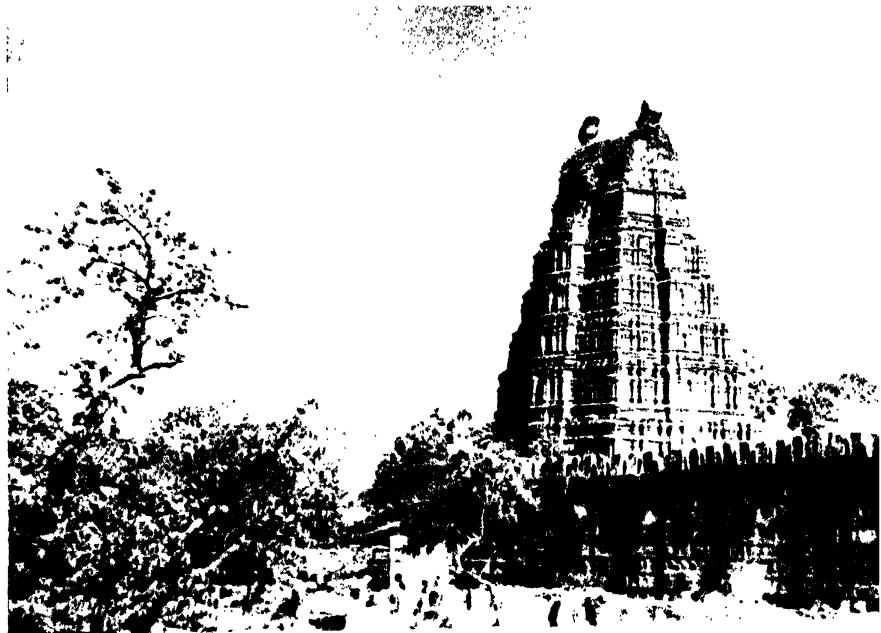


FIG. 9. *The great Shiva temple at Sri Sailam.*



lacking, insects are not the same kind of pest they often become in other parts of India.

Change in the Environment

As long as the Chenchus remained the only inhabitants of the upper part of the Amrabad plateau, their environment suffered no artificial change. The basic characteristic of their economy—reaping only that which nature provides—precluded any real interference with the natural conditions of their surroundings. When the first break in this state of affairs occurred is difficult to say, but perhaps we will be nearer to solving the problem once the archæological finds of the area have been investigated.

The stone-circles (Fig. 10), menhirs and dolmens found near Amrabad and Padra indicate that in prehistoric times a population of megalithic culture must have penetrated as far as the lower and more fertile ledge of the plateau. It is impossible to tell, however, how long these megalithic people remained in that area. Both on the lower ledge and the upper plateau there are remnants of an old wall, built of rough stones and never higher than about three feet, while on the path between Medimankal and Boramacheruvu lie two great mounds of rubble, which, according to the Chenchus, cover the bodies of warriors slain in battle. In other parts of Hyderabad similar mounds have yielded grave-cists, and if the same were to be true of those on the Amrabad Plateau, the mounds could be said to date from the early iron age. The old wall may be equally ancient, but judgment on these problems must be reserved until at least one of the mounds has been investigated.

On the southern side of the Kistna stands the famous Shiva temple of Sri Sailam already mentioned in the *Skanda Purana*, whose origin is certainly not later than the 7th century A.D. and perhaps earlier.¹

From these early times pilgrims from the whole of the northern Deccan passed through the forest of the Amrabad Plateau on their way to the annual festival at the famous temple. Flights of stone steps, lined by small temples, lead down into the Kistna Valley on the main pilgrims' route, but though the date of their construction is doubtful, there is no reason to assume that these steps and temples are as old as Sri Sailam.

The many ruins found scattered through the forest suggest that the plateau must have played a rôle in the more recent history of the Deccan. Two ruined forts on a ridge known as Chandragupta, which is surrounded on three sides by the River Kistna, probably belong to this time, and near Medimankal I came across another ruined tower of the same kind, not marked on the map. There are also a number

1. Cf. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd Edition, Oxford 1914. p. 22.

of wells on the plateau, some cut about thirty feet into the rock and lined with small stones, as well as a few tanks. These are not the work of Chenchus and though it is improbable that plains people ever settled permanently on the upper plateau, fairly large outposts may have been stationed there to guard the boundary of the south. The ruins of several small temples throughout the hills and the extensive buildings at Mananur, Maheswara, Amrabad and Boramacheruvu indicate that most of these traces of occupation by plains people date from the days of the last Hindu Kingdoms of the Deccan.

How long that particular invasion of the plateau by outsiders lasted is difficult to estimate, but their influence on the Chenchus seems to have remained superficial. The latter no doubt avoided the outposts as much as possible and the garrisons probably paid little attention to the forest tribes. Once the invaders had left the plateau, they were soon forgotten; only their wells and tanks remained and were of lasting advantage to the Chenchus, who then settled in places where before no water had been available.

An essential change in the environment of the Chenchus, and consequently in their living conditions, came only some years ago when the plateau was taken under the control of the Forest Department. Now there is a rest house at Farahabad, forest roads leading from Mananur to Farahabad, Boramacheruvu and Sarlapalli have opened up the plateau and attempts are being made to improve and protect the forest. The influence of the activities of the Forest Department on the Chenchus will be discussed in Chapter XXXIII. Here it may suffice to say that during recent years their environment has begun to change and that the future alone will show how far the Chenchu will be successful in adapting himself to the new conditions without relinquishing altogether his traditional style of life.

CHAPTER II

APPEARANCE AND PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

IN spite of long isolation the Chenchus have not the appearance of a racially homogeneous group and only a close analysis, based on measurements from a large number of men and women, could reveal their racial composition. Such a task was beyond the scope of my work and the measurements taken by B. S. Guha¹ in 1931 of 23 men and a few children represent, in his own words, a sample "not large and comprehensive enough to analyse in detail all the somatic types found among them."² Moreover his specimens came mainly from the villages near the cart-track, such as Pulajelma and Vatellapalli, and here miscegenation with outsiders appears to have been strongest. My own observations are not backed by measurements and the conclusions drawn from them and Guha's figures are therefore subject to modification once measurements on a larger scale have been undertaken.

In general the Chenchu is of slender, medium stature, the average height of the men being 163 cm. and though there are many men under 155 cm. I have met only a few over 170 cm. The colour of the skin varies from dark black-brown to a rich copper colour. The eyes are generally brown and sometimes almost black. The strong coarse hair is wavy or curly, and there are a few individuals with hair so tightly curled that from a distance it appears almost frizzy (Fig. 12). These are, however, rare exceptions and no truly woolly or frizzy hair occurs. The facial growth is not very strong and, at the most, men have sprouting beards and moustaches. Some men have hardly any but pubic hair on the body, while others have a curly growth on chest, arms and legs.

All Chenchus appear clearly dolichocephalic and this is confirmed by both Guha's measurements, which give a mean cephalic index of 72.89 and those carried out by Thurston among the Chenchus of Madras Presidency, who arrived at an average cephalic index of 74.3.³ But there are two clearly distinguishable types of facial features,

1. B. S. Guha's results are published in the *Census of India, 1931* (Vol. I. Part III, p. XLVIII and p. 21; Vol. XXIII, pp. 278-279).

2. Personal communication.

3. E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Madras 1909*; Vol. II, pp. 43-44.

with a flowing scale of intermediate types. The one is of extreme primitiveness and characterized by a low face, very steep forehead, a deep depression at the root of the nose, eyes overhung by strong supraorbital ridges and a broad, flat nose with wide nostrils (Fig. 12). The mouth is either large with a tendency to prognathism, or rather small and child-like with full upturned lips. The chin is small and pointed and usually receding. The second definite type is more progressive and is characterized by a longer face, a stronger chin and a more prominent nose, which is sometimes fairly narrow and convex in profile (Fig. 15). As a rule higher stature accompanies this type. Naturally no sharp demarcation between the types is possible and it will be seen from the photographs how far they merge into each other.

It would seem that in the more primitive type there survive some of the somatic characteristics of that most ancient stratum in Indian racial history which is represented by the Panyas, Kanikars and other jungle tribes of the south-west and which Eickstedt terms Malid. This is probably the same type described by Guha as "Australoid" and his opinion that there is a submerged Negrito strain in the Chenchus concurs to a certain extent, despite the divergence in terminology, with Eickstedt's assumption of a proto-Negritid element in his Malid sub-race. The extreme primitiveness of physical type found among the Chenchus tallies with the basic characteristics of Chenchu culture and it is indeed rather the more primitive type which in this part of the world we would expect to find in a tribe of semi-nomadic food-gatherers, than the more progressive type, which resembles that predominant among the lower castes of the neighbouring plains population. This latter type probably results from the contact with the populations of higher cultural level to which must also be attributed many elements in Chenchu culture. In the present stage of our knowledge, we cannot say whether that decisive contact occurred thousands of years ago when the first waves of agriculturists came in touch with the older population of hunters and collectors, or whether it took place in more recent times. Undoubtedly there is today a certain amount of miscegenation owing to the presence of forest guards and Lambadi graziers in Chenchu villages, but although Chenchu women are said not to be entirely averse to casual sex-relations with outsiders, it is difficult to say how far the racial composition of the Chenchus has thereby already been influenced.

The physique of the Chenchu is locally believed to be extremely poor, but such generalization is entirely unjustified. The average Chenchu man and woman is strong and well built; the evenly proportioned bodies are slim, but by no means meagre, and though in the plains the women are often plump, I have never seen a fat Chenchu. Legs and arms are generally rather lean and wiry, and hands and feet



FIG. 12. *Linganu of Eiaralu clan.*



FIG. 11. *Yidgana of Todal clan; his face and chest covered with ashes for the dance.*



FIG. 14. *Gangaru of Tokal clan.*



FIG. 13. *Paparu of Sagarlu clan.*



FIG. 16. *Yidganu* of Tokal clan.



FIG. 15. *Guruvara* of Nimal clan.



FIG. 18. *Lingau of Sigarlu clan.*



FIG. 17. *Gengi of Tokal clan.*

definitely large, while the latter, particularly those of men, often show the effects of tree-climbing, the big toe tending to turn outwards, leaving a large gap between it and the others. With rare exceptions the teeth are good, and quite old men are still in possession of a full and sound complement.

The Chenchu finds it difficult to work in manners to which he is not accustomed and perhaps this may have given rise to the belief that his physique is weak and that he is not capable of much effort. The Chenchu certainly complains if he has to cut trees at their base, for he has learnt from his fathers to fell them without bending two or three feet from the ground, and he cannot carry heavy loads, for in his own economic system the carrying of heavy loads has no place; but with a light load he will walk for many miles at a sharp pace and without pause through difficult country. Great strength in the arms is required to bend a Chenchu bow and both I and my wife had some difficulty even in stringing one, while our attempts at shooting were deplorable. The Chenchu has a remarkable ability for sustaining hunger, and a man generally goes out in the morning on an empty stomach and comes back in the evening after covering many miles having eaten nothing all day but a few roasted roots, while at certain seasons of the year he lives at starvation level on a few handfuls of nuts, without suffering noticeably in energy or in spirit; even old women who seem little else than skin and bone work indefatigably unearthing tubers and carrying wood and water without the least sign of weariness.

The carriage of both men and women is upright and their gait is free and springy. On a path they walk quickly, following each other in single file, but in pathless country they move cautiously and noiselessly, their senses alert to every danger. All Chenchus are expert tree-climbers and will shin up almost any tree, their arms and legs on either side of the trunk, gripping the bark with their toes and fingers; sometimes if the trunk is too thick to afford a grip for their limbs, they prop a twigged bamboo against the bole to serve as a ladder to the first branches. Chenchus living near water are often strong swimmers and when crossing the Kistna they usually swim, though old people and women not proficient in this art are pushed across on rafts.

Chenchus seldom sit cross-legged like the people of the plains; they either squat or sit on their buttocks with the knees drawn up. Women like to sit with both legs bent and drawn to one side with all the weight resting on one thigh, or they adopt the attitude in which they generally dig up roots, one leg stretched out and the other crooked and drawn up. When resting on a march or during the heat of the day men will sometimes lie flat on the back or on the stomach resting their chins on their hands, but the usual position for sleeping at night is to lie on

one side with the knees a little drawn up and the head resting on a stone, a piece of wood, or simply on a crooked arm. No characteristic attitude is adopted while standing. Indeed, Chenchus do not stand for very long unless there is any particular need, but they like to loll against a tree or anything else that gives them support and very occasionally they put up one foot and rest it on the thigh of the other; girls very often stand with the hands linked behind the neck.

In his village the Chenchu has always vessels and bowls from which to drink and during the seasons of the year when large leaves are available these are employed as leaf cups, but failing these he drinks from a pool or stream by scooping up the water in his cupped palms or kneels down, resting his weight on his arms, and puts his mouth to the water. Solid food is invariably eaten with the fingers and there seems to be no prejudice as to which hand should be used, many a Chenchu employing both if he finds it convenient.

In the performance of bodily functions Chenchus do not observe much privacy and although women are slightly more modest, a few steps from the path or house and a turning of the back on the company is all that is considered necessary. Men usually squat to urinate and to defecate, but small boys may be seen urinating while standing. Curiously enough not only small but also adult girls often urinate standing. Chenchus do not cleanse themselves with water after defecation.

In matters of personal cleanliness the Chenchus are locally much belied, for when water is plentiful they are by no means averse to washing. Every morning they rinse the mouth and rub the teeth with a forefinger or a small twig, often applying powdered charred wood and even gargling the mouth and throat. Hands are washed in the morning, and before partaking of food. This is the normal routine; but we must remember that during many months water is scarce on the plateau, the only available source being often a small water hole dug into the sand of a stream bed, and it is then that the Chenchu is careless of his personal cleanliness. On coming to a stream or tank, however, he often washes thoroughly, standing on a rock and splashing the water over his back and head, or finding it more pleasant and less troublesome he combines a bath with a swim.

Certainly the few pieces of cloth which the Chenchu wraps round his body are seldom very clean, but it would be wrong to suppose that they are never washed. The Chenchus near the tank of Boramacheruvu frequently washed their clothes, beating them in the usual Indian manner on a stone, and in other villages clothes are washed in the same spring or well which provides the water for household purposes. Naturally cleanliness varies greatly from individual to individual, from village to village and season to season, and although Chenchus wrapt in the most filthy rags can be encountered, the con-

ditions of their jungle life, the continual contact with the soil, and the meagreness of the water supply during certain seasons must be taken into account before we assume that they are indifferent to matters of personal cleanliness.

It is on the hair, however, that the Chenchu lavishes most attention, washing it at least once a month and if he is rich anointing it with ghee to make it smooth and shiny; both sexes frequently comb the hair with small wooden combs, or prune their tresses with the fingers, while delousing is an almost daily ritual. Most men never cut their hair, but let it grow to its natural length, tying it into a knot on the top or back of the head, or slightly on one side, wherever it sits best; they use old combings twisted into a cord to bind the knot. But those men who have curly hair let it hang on the shoulders in short locks for, as Chenchus laughingly say, such hair never grows long; indeed it appears that the straighter the hair the better the Chenchu likes it, and I often had the impression that they considered very curly hair slightly ridiculous. The shaving of the hair but for a tuft on the top of the head is a custom of apparently recent introduction and one which is only found among those Chenchus in frequent touch with outsiders, but this fashion does not enhance the beauty of the Chenchu, for his features definitely demand the luxuriance of his black locks and he is at his best when you meet him in the jungle or find him at home in his village with his thick hair loosened and hanging down his back (Fig. 76).

Women part their hair in the centre and twist it into a knot on the nape of the neck, and even those with strongly curled locks succeed in screwing it into a small knot though they find it hard to make it appear straight and tidy. A piece of string or a strand of creeper is used to bind women's hair before the knot is made, but ornaments are never worn in the hair.

The plains people's custom of cropping children's heads is now widely adopted by the Chenchus of the plateau. When a child is about two years old the head is shaved for the first time: hair of this first cutting is thrown into a stream or pond with an offering to the water-goddess (see p. 192), but later no care is taken in disposing of the hair. Subsequently the hair is periodically shaved except for a small tuft on the crown, and it is only when a girl is seven or eight and a boy about twelve that the hair is allowed to grow.

A few Chenchu women are tattooed on the forehead and at the corner of the eyes, but tattooing is not a general practice among the Chenchus and I was told that only those who want to add to their beauty undergo the operation, and that they are free to choose any pattern that pleases them. The most common design appears to be a small lozenge on the forehead, or small tattoo spots at the corners of the eyes, while in villages of the lower ledge more elaborate patterns are

sometimes applied to the inside of the arms. While I was on the plateau, there was no one on this side of the Kistna proficient in the art of tattooing, but the women of Boramacheruvu and Appapur told me that they had all been tattooed many years ago by a Chenchu woman from Kurnool who had learnt her art from plains people.

There are few things more subject to personal taste than the attractiveness of an individual or a people as a whole. Naturally we are inclined to apply our own standards in forming a judgement and any general consensus of opinion is difficult to attain. Yet there are among primitive races as among the more civilized certain peoples who are more or less unanimously described as handsome, as for instance, the Polynesians, the Balinese, and the Nagas of Assam, while the Australian aborigines as well as the natives of the New Hebrides and the Bismarck Archipelago have seldom found favour with the foreign observer. That æsthetic criticisms may be endorsed by peoples of very different race and culture has on the other hand been proved by Verrier Elwin, who showed photographs of Melanesians to Baigas of the Central Provinces and found that they too preferred those girls whom the Melanesians themselves considered beautiful.¹

At first sight the Chenchus will hardly rank among the most prepossessing or handsome primitive races of India. But those who get to know them more intimately will find many individuals who are definitely attractive to the observer brought up with other standards of æsthetic feeling. Very beautiful are the lithe, excellently modelled bodies of some men, and their energetic faces with the frank smile that shows their magnificent teeth make a very strong appeal; some young women have a great deal of charm, with their supple bodies, narrow hips, slim arms and their composed and cat-like movements. A few girls have pretty faces, with regular features and a straight narrow nose, but the young women of the more primitive type can also be very attractive with their bright expressions and their radiant smiles and animated ways of talking. It seems to me, however, that the number of good-looking women is smaller than that of handsome men, while the beauty of the women is certainly comparatively short-lived; for with excessive child-bearing waists thicken and faces soon show signs of the strain of their hard life.

The unfavourable impression which the Chenchus usually make on the casual visitor is mainly due to their shyness and self-consciousness in front of strangers, and the knowledge of the depreciative attitude which most outsiders adopt towards all members of their race. People who feel uncomfortable and embarrassed are seldom attractive; they move awkwardly and easily assume that "sullen" expression which is unfortunately so often considered an attribute of the

1. Verrier Elwin. *The Baiga*, London 1939, pp. 241-243.

Chenchus. But whoever lives in their villages and observes them when they are at their ease will see many cheerful, smiling faces and will delight in the graceful movements and the poses which both men and women assume while resting and working.

My attempts to discover which physical qualities the Chenchus themselves admire in man or woman were not very successful. Statements, like that of a youth of Pulajelma, that 'to them all Chenchu girls are pretty,' are certainly not to be taken literally. The men of Boramacheruvu told me that they don't care much about the features of a girl, but that they want a woman to be neat and clean, and hard-working. They admitted, however, that straight hair is preferred to curly and that they like small women. Another man added: "Fat men like fat girls, and slim men slim girls," a statement which I have reason to doubt, particularly as I have never seen a fat Chenchu. Yet, it is typical as an answer to a question demanding a higher degree of abstraction than the informant is able to command. However, from the comparatively adventurous life of some of the women most attractive in my eyes and the apparent difficulty of finding husbands for others less favoured by nature, we may conclude that the Chenchu's æsthetic standards are neither as dulled as he would have us believe, nor that they differ from ours in any marked degree.

CHAPTER III

DRESS AND ORNAMENT

IN ancient times Chenchus clad themselves in jungle leaves and this type of dress lingers still in the memory of the present generation, is still occasionally donned at dances, and survives in a phase of the marriage ritual (cf. p. 136). Leaf-clad Chenchus have been mentioned by early observers,¹ but even at the beginning of this century E. Thurston writing of the Chenchus of Madras says that "leafy garments have been replaced by white loin-cloths and some of the women have adopted the *ravike* (bodice) in imitation of the female costume of the plains."² In Hyderabad too, the Chenchus have during the last decades adopted the style of dress current among the peasant peoples of the plains. Today men and women wear cloths and ornaments bought from bazaars or wandering traders, and with the growing intercourse between jungle and plainsfolk stimulating the demand, these new commodities constitute a continual drain on an economy which is ill-suited to any but the smallest cash expenditure. Leaves were certainly not only cheaper but probably more hygienic than cotton cloth which is so rarely changed and when drenched with rain is allowed to dry on the body. But whatever its advantages may have been, it would be an utopian attempt to try and reintroduce the original type of dress, which was probably discarded in the face of the derision it evoked among outsiders.

Today the everyday dress of the Chenchu man consists of a waist-string (*moltaru*) made of twisted fibre and a small piece of cotton cloth (*gosh batta*), five or six inches wide, which is passed between the legs in such a way that it holds the private parts in a kind of bag, the ends falling loosely over the waist-string like a small apron in front and at the back. No special cloth is bought for the *gosh batta*, but women tear strips from their *sari* to provide their menfolk with this most essential garment.

When it is cold, the Chenchu wraps himself in a cotton cloth and this he uses alternatively twisted round the head as a turban; but some men possess two cloths: a body cloth (*pei batta*) and a turban

1. Cf. Taylor, *Catalogue raisonné of Oriental Manuscripts*, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, VIII, 1846.

2. *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. II, p. 37.

(*rumal batta*). Younger men twist narrow lengths of cloth (*kash-koka*) round their waists like a cummerbund when they go visiting or attend dances or ceremonies such as marriages and these are generally white with fringed and coloured ends.

Many men have broad leather belts in which to stick their knives and these generally have small pouches attached, though separate leather pouches are sometimes worn slung over the shoulder on a leather thong. Both these articles the Chenchu buys when he has the means from the Madigas (c cobblers) of the plains.

Some shrewd merchants have recently included shirts among the wares which they trade to the Chenchus, but as yet these have not become very popular. Many men cannot afford such a luxury and those who can do not seem over-anxious to add this new item to their dress. Dark blue appears to be the colour most worn, but the Chenchus say that it is not a question of choice for they can only buy what the merchant will bring and the traders consider dark blue the colour most suitable for jungly folk.

Such is the meagre outfit of the Chenchu man, who is still happiest going about his daily work with the sun on the naked skin, for whom the *gosh batta* and the *moltau* are the most general wear and a few simple rings the only ornaments. In the helix and lobe of the ears he sometimes wears small rings of brass, white metal or silver, but near the Kistna it is fashionable to hang fine chain pendants loaded with coloured glass in the lobe of one ear. Other ornaments he has none, but some men wear copper spiral finger rings as talismans against angry bees in the belief that they have the power to prevent bee stings from swelling; it is not clear, however, how an ornament which can be bought for a few pice in any bazaar gained this attribute.

Chenchu women have adopted the clothes of the neighbouring peasantry. They wear a *choli* or bodice, a *sari*, and under the *sari* a short, generally rather ragged piece of cloth, which they keep on even when bathing. The *choli* is a skimpy, short-sleeved bodice, which is bought ready-made and fastened over the chest by knotting the two ends together. It completely hides the breasts, but leaves bare a broad band of skin round the waist above the *sari*. Mothers suckling their children unknot their *choli* and feed their children wherever and whenever the child cries, but the majority of women otherwise shrink from uncovering their breasts in public, and it is only in the house or in the intimacy of their own villages when the women lounge in front of the houses delousing each others heads that they discard their bodices and bask in the sun naked to the waist. There are, however, some women and especially old women who wear no *choli*, but cover the breasts with the folds of the *sari*, knotting the two corners of one end over the shoulder.

The *sari* is worn rather short, reaching only half-way between knee and ankle, and women of the plateau never gird it between the legs like the agricultural workers of the plains and seldom drape it in folds in front like the women of the higher castes; they wrap it round the hips and tuck the end in at the waist. On ceremonial occasions, at weddings and dancing parties during the mohua flower season, girls and young women dress in bright coloured full length *sari*, but for daily wear it is only those women in frequent contact with the Madras Chenchus or those of the plains, who have perhaps been born in these more civilized localities, who wear the ankle length *sari* with the end over the head. Perhaps women on the plateau are too poor to affect the fuller fashion, for they own at the most one or two *sari*, and these are continually mutilated by the demands of husbands, brothers and sons for *gosh batta*, and sisters and daughters for loin cloths, until there is little left to the woman but a faded length of cloth that goes three or four times round her waist. But for life in the jungle and the digging for roots amongst undergrowth and thicket this abbreviated garment is more practical than a full, ankle length skirt.

Although women's ornaments are more varied than those of men, they are of little value; poor in quality when compared to those worn in the plains, and poor in quantity when compared to the ornaments of other aboriginal tribes, they are nevertheless treasured by the Chenchus and even the poorest girl has a few strings of beads to hang round her neck and a couple of glass bangles for her wrists. In olden days women made most of their ornaments themselves. During the rains they collected the oval brown seeds of *kapepak* tree (*Murraya Koenigii*), the thin white seeds called *pullipusalu*, the green kernels of the *kalab* fruit, and small black berries scarcely larger than pepper-corns, all of which they dried in the sun, pierced with thorns and strung into necklaces on strands of fibre of jungle creepers. When the men shot a peacock the quills stripped of feathers and coiled round the neck were worn as collars, while young girls plaited narrow collars of cane (*tiga gazel*) for each other and twisted themselves wristlets and armlets of the flexible tendrils of some of the giant creepers (*pimpa tiga*). But today few of these ornaments are to be seen, and although some old women still possess the wild berry necklaces, the young girls infinitely prefer the glass bazaar beads to peacock quills and bracelets of glistening metal to those of twisted cane.

Thus the majority of women wear glass beads of manifold colouring and shape strung in necklets, collars and necklaces. Rich girls and women have many strings, some fitting tightly round the throat, others hanging down over the breasts, but poor women and those mothers who have bequeathed most of their necklaces to daughters have often to be content with one or two strings.

All women possess bangles. Aluminium and lead bracelets are the most treasured; these are broken circles of metal which a woman wears all her life, even when she is widowed. A well-to-do woman has four, two on each arm, and in addition as many glass-bangles in red, yellow, blue or green as she can collect. Chenchus are practical people and they do not choose the elegant and fragile varieties so often seen in the plains, but select bangles that are fairly solid and will stand a certain amount of hard wear. Broad rings of aluminium, copper and silver are also worn on fingers and toes, and I have seen women with rings on all fingers except the thumb.

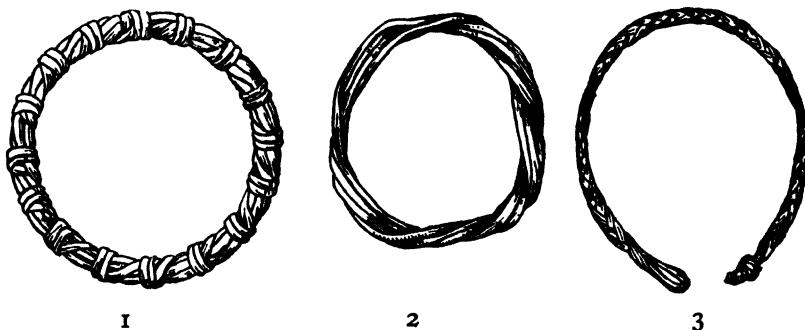


FIGURE A.

1. Armlet; 2. Twisted bracelet; 3. Plaited necklace.

Most women have their ears pierced and wear small rings or studs of various metals in the lobes, and some have the nostrils perforated and wear nose-studs of aluminium, brass or silver. The piercing of the ears is done with a thorn in childhood, and though girls often perform the operation for each other, it is equally often done by the mother. There is no special time or age assigned for the piercing of the ears and nostrils, and it is sometimes carried out before the girls have the necessary ornaments and then the holes are kept open with small splinters of wood.

Small Chenchu children seldom wear clothes, but run about naked with only a few strings of beads round their necks. When they are about five, boys appropriate scraps of cloth to use as *gosh batta* and when they are old enough to go visiting on their own they may borrow their father's *kash-koka* or his *rumal*, but they seldom acquire cloths of their own till they are mature and can buy them for themselves. Girls of six and seven get skimpy pieces of cloth to wrap round the waist, and

when their breasts begin to develop they get a *choli*, a new one if they are lucky and the merchant happens to come to the village, but more probably a torn and ragged cast-off of mother or elder sister. Often a girl's first new *sari* and *choli* are those given her at her marriage by her husband, but some parents try to deck out their mature daughters in new clothes for the dancing in the mohua flower season. Girls' and boys' ornaments are the exact replicas of those worn by adult women and many a Chenchu acquires jewellery only when a child and as parental gifts, for ornaments are not treated as ceremonial presents to be given on puberty, marriage or childbirth. Small bone-knives (*gorenka kata*) are made for children by their parents and worn on a string round the neck, to be used for opening nuts before the nails are strong enough for this purpose, and some girls like to wear these knives as ornaments even when they no longer use them (Fig. I, 4).

Chenchu children use flowers as personal ornaments just as little as the Chenchu adult, but perhaps this is due to the fact that jungle flowers fade rapidly when plucked. In the hot weather men as well as women adorn their hair knots with the yellow flowers of *Gmelina arborea* or loop the long-stemmed water lily round their shoulders while they bask in the sun after bathing, and in the rains the heads of small woodland flowers are sometimes stuck in nostril or ear-lobe; but such flowers are only used when the Chenchu comes across them blossoming in his path; he will never go out of his way to search for flowers to adorn his person.

I was not able to discover any kind of "ceremonial dress" and even items such as the caps made of wax-cloth, or deer or hare-skin, mentioned by Thurston¹ seem to have fallen entirely into disuse. Neither is there any relation between dress or ornament and social status, nor any difference in the attire of the married and unmarried, and if today distinctions are discernible in the apparel of the individual Chenchus these distinctions are solely due to wealth. The Chenchu has borrowed almost everything he wears from the plains people, and his present-day clothes and ornaments have therefore no significance in his own culture.

1. Op. cit. Vol. II, p. 37.



FIG. 19. *Kanama of Nimal clan.*



FIG. 21. *Linggi* of *Evavalu* clan.



FIG. 20. *Gengi* of *Sigaluh* clan.







FIG. 24. *Boat-making.*

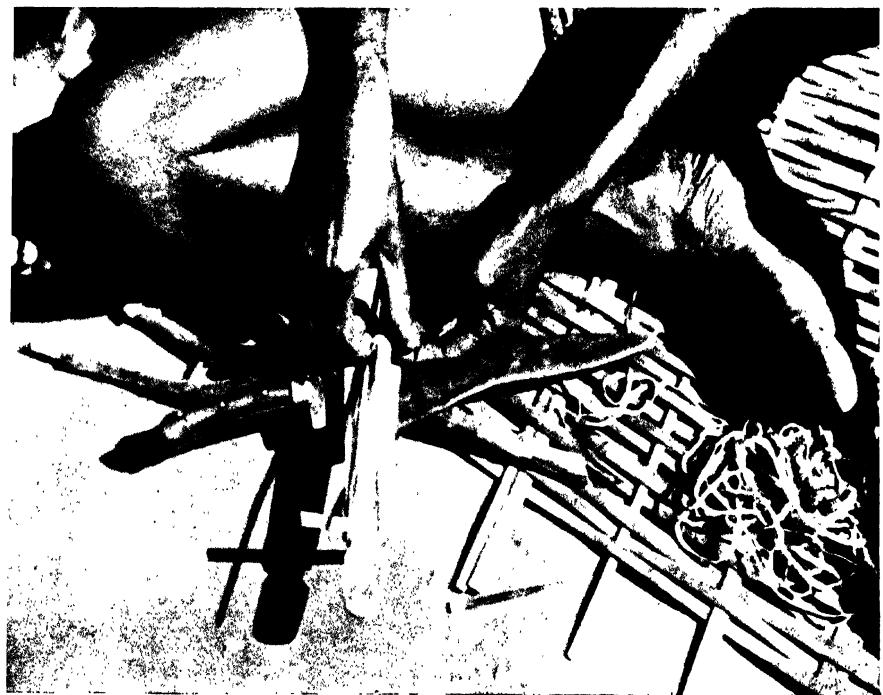


FIG. 25. *Forming the sinew-harness of the bow-string.*

CHAPTER IV
WEAPONS, INSTRUMENTS
AND
HOUSEHOLD GOODS

HERE can be few Indian tribes so poor in earthly goods as the Chenchu. When moving house he and his wife can often carry with them all that they possess, but this mobility, certainly advantageous so long as the Chenchu retains his semi-nomadic mode of existence, is gradually disappearing, and with a more settled life and the growing contact with peoples of superior material culture with whom he can barter goods of foreign manufacture the number of his possessions is on the increase. Yet his feeling for property is still undeveloped and he seldom holds anything in his keeping which is not of immediate practical use to him in his struggle for existence.

The mainstay of Chenchu economic life is the digging-stick. Indeed, if we were to adopt the prehistorian's habit of naming a whole culture after one type of artifact, we would be justified in describing Chenchu culture as a 'digging-stick culture,' for without this implement he would soon be reduced to starvation. With its sharp point he loosens the surface of the stony ground and unearths the roots and tubers which form his staple diet, and those who sow grain use the digging-stick to dibble the seed.

The digging-stick (*kurra kama*, more usually called just *kurra*) generally consists of two parts: the wooden or bamboo shaft, which is about two feet long and the iron spike, with which the shaft is tipped and which is obtained from blacksmiths of the plains. The spike is either inserted into a hole made in the head of the shaft, which is secured against splitting by bindings of jungle fibre, or it is laid in a groove along the side of the shaft, where it is held in position by a broad iron ring. Children's digging-sticks are sometimes made of bamboo or wood, the ends sharpened with a knife.

The same type of digging-stick is used by both men and women. In olden times when hunting played a greater rôle in replenishing the Chenchus' food supply and thus occupied more of men's time, the division of labour between men and women may have been more pro-

nounced, but nowadays men go out with their digging-sticks in exactly the same way as women.



I



2

FIGURE B.

Digging-sticks: 1. With spike inserted into the shaft; 2. With spike inset in groove.

Hunting, however, has always been a definitely male occupation, and the bow was once the most essential item of a man's possessions. In Hyderabad it has now lost most of its importance and though young men often carry bow and arrows when they set out for the forest, they rarely hunt and many Chenchus can no longer trust their aim when they have an empty stomach. The Chenchu bow is a simple one; the stave is made of spliced bamboo, the back convex and the belly flat. The average length of an adult man's bow is 44-52 inches, with a thickness at the centre of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches gradually tapering to 1 inch at the horns, which are notched singly or doubly about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the tip. The stave is not reinforced by any substance and the segments of the tail-skin of the Indian monitor with which some Chenchus decorate the stave are neither intended as strengthening nor as tallies of successful kills.

The bow is strung with a slender rigid splinter of bamboo, a little less than $\frac{1}{4}$ inch broad, $\frac{1}{16}$ inch thick and about 7 inches shorter than the stave to which it is harnessed with a cord of deer sinew. This cord is made from the sinews of a newly slain deer, which should be worked while still fresh and supple, though later they may be rendered equally pliable with a little water: short strands of shredded sinew, that have each been rolled against the thigh, are looped over one of the horns, and the ends slip-knotted on to the string 3 inches from the end; the string is nicked on the underside to prevent the knots from

slipping. When the sinew loops, generally five or six, have been looped over the horn and fastened to the string, they are rolled together between moistened thumb and forefinger into a cord, which is strengthened where it rubs the back of the stave at the notches and pinned to either side of the string midway between the head and nick by sinew bindings. A temporary wedge is used to jack up the sinew loops over the stave during the processes of knotting and binding, which with each successive row held firm under the right thumb and each coil regulated by the right forefinger is extremely rapid and sure (Fig. 25).

Except when actually in search of game, the Chenchu carries his bow in the hand unstrung, together with four or five arrows. To string the bow, he rests one horn on the ground, the stave upright and the belly towards him; he grips the upper horn with his left hand and while pulling it towards him, presses the belly of the stave outwards with the sole of the right foot, until he is able to slip the sinew harness into the notches of the horn. In shooting the stave is grasped with the three last fingers of the left hand, the thumb across the belly at right angles, and held sometimes horizontally but generally perpendicularly with the arm outstretched. The arrow is placed on the left of the stave, resting in the fork of thumb and forefinger of the left hand. The three middle fingers of the right hand are used to draw back the string, the arrow shaft being held lightly between the second and third fingers, the nock resting in the string, which is then rapidly drawn and sharply released; the thumb plays no part in drawing the bow but is generally employed to hold spare arrows.

Chenchus have five different types of arrows and though they assert that at least two of these varieties are now only used by children their very existence today seems to indicate their former use in hunting. All arrows have cylindrical bamboo-shafts about 25 inches long, and a diameter of perhaps $\frac{1}{4}$ inch; they are feathered with three, sometimes four triangularly cut wings, which are set radially to the shaft attached with resin and secured for the whole length of the feathering with bindings of bazaar thread. Occasionally these feathers are given a slight spiral twist. Chenchus prefer to wing their arrows with vulture feathers, which are said to be strongest and swiftest in flight, but if they cannot get vulture, they will use those of peacock or jungle fowl. The nock of the arrow is scooped out of the butt and well rounded.

Of the five types of arrows three are metal tipped. The triangular or leaf-shaped *villa ambu*, described as "female," the simple spike *guka*, described as "male," and the blunt-headed *kola*, which aimed at trunks of trees acts as a decoy by startling small animals hiding in the foliage. The metal tips are made by the Chenchus themselves from pieces of iron taken from the digging-stick points; these are hammered into shape after having been softened by fire, and then bent round the shaft-

heads, previously smeared with the resin of the *tangri* tree (probably *Terminalia belerica*), so as to form a rough socket.

Arrows without iron heads are not used to any great extent. The *ramalu* has the head of the bamboo shaft sharpened by knife into a point, while the *bota kola* is used for knocking out small birds without completely disrupting them and has a pear-shaped head fashioned from the natural knot of the bamboo.

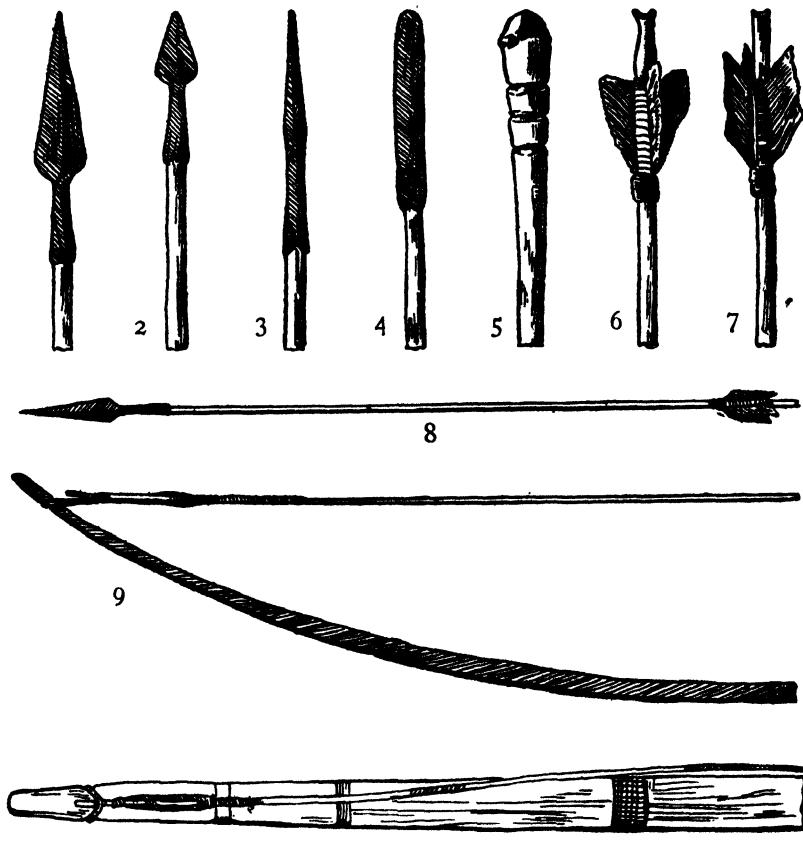


FIGURE C.

1-5. Arrow heads (1-2 *villa ambu*, 3 *guka*, 4 *kola*, 5 *bota kola*);

6-7. Feathering of arrows; 8 complete *villa ambu*;

9-10. End of bow-stave showing harnessing of string.



FIG. 26. *The drawing of the bow.*





Within the last two or three generations the bow has partly been displaced by guns of an old muzzle-loader type, bought from traders in times of prosperity. There are nowadays one or two of these guns in every village, but owing to the difficulty of procuring powder and to the restrictions which the forest laws impose on hunting they are not used to any great extent. During dances, however, these guns are brandished in the same way as the traditional bow and at certain ceremonies, such as the memorial feast some weeks after a funeral, a shot is fired into the air in honour of the dead. The Chenchu uses a small receptacle of coconut husk for carrying and storing gunpowder, and measures the ingredients of his explosives on a miniature pair of beam scales whose wicker-work pans are hung on triple fibre strings.

Besides his digging-stick and bow practically every Chenchu possesses an axe (*godeli*) and a knife (*sur kata*), and he seldom leaves his village, whether to visit other settlements or to roam the forests in search of food, without his axe hooked over his shoulder and his knife, sometimes in a leather sheath (*wora*), at his waist. The axe, with its heavy iron handle-holed head and wooden or bamboo handle, is used for felling trees and lopping jungle growth, while the straight-bladed knife is employed for purposes such as house-building, splicing bamboo for basketry, and carving up the carcases of animals slain in the chase. Although both the iron axe, which is hafted by the Chenchu himself and the knife obtained ready-made in the plains are goods of foreign origin, they form today an integral part of a Chenchu's equipment and constitute some of the few articles of inheritable property. Some Chenchus possess, moreover, iron sickles, which they use for cutting grass.

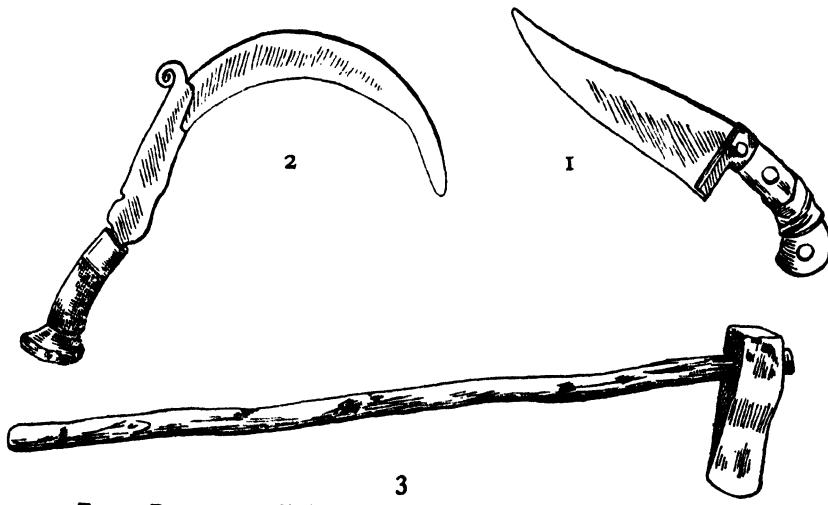


FIGURE D.

1. Knife;

2. Sickle;

3. Axe.

Honey-taking is one of the Chenchu's traditional occupations, and for this he uses various types of rope and cord. In scaling cliffs to reach the combs of rock bees he uses a thick rope about 3 inches in diameter which is stout enough to bear a man's weight ; this is called *seri moku* and is manufactured from twined strands of the *narepa* tree (*Hardwickia binata*). The *nara tarpa* is a broad strand of fibre with a bamboo spike attached to one end and is used for hauling up the honeycomb when it has been detached from the face of the cliff by a wooden sword-like baton. The *nara tarpa* is sometimes hitched into a comb hanging on a high branch by means of a long bamboo and then the honey is allowed to flow down the fibre strand into a receptacle on the ground. Not only for honey-taking but for many other purposes too the Chenchu utilizes the fibre of the many creepers growing in the forest, and particularly that of *Bauhinia Vahlii*. He strips the bark from the stout stems, reduces the wood to fibre by hammering with the flat side of his axe-head or a convenient stone, and then rolls the fibre-strands on his thigh and twists it into twine of every length and thickness for lashings, bindings, cords for carrying baskets, and ropes for tethering cattle.

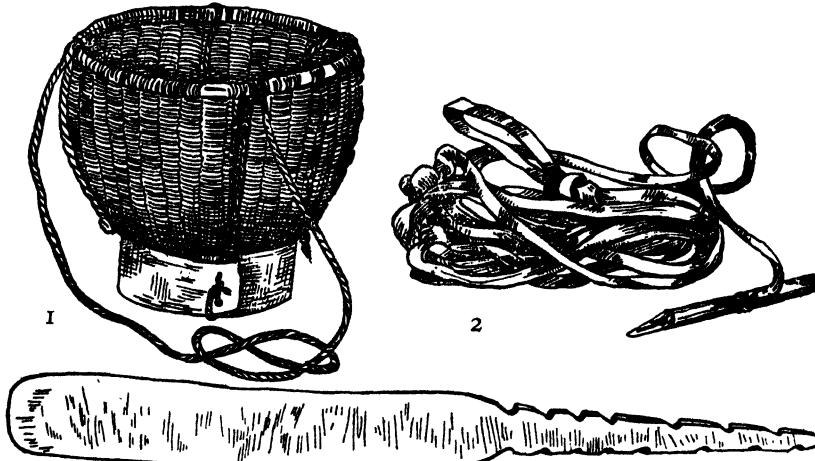


FIGURE E.

1. Honey-basket ; 2. *Nara tarpa* with bamboo-spike ;
3. Sword-like baton used in taking honey.

In former times the Chenchus undoubtedly produced fire by one of the primitive methods of friction, and E. Thurston mentions that the Chenchus of Madras made fire by the horizontal sawing method with two pieces of split bamboo,¹ but in Hyderabad there is no longer any

1. Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 43.

remembrance of such a custom and one and all protest that they have never heard of any other method than striking fire with flint and steel; they purchase the steel in the bazaar and use as tinder the cotton-like hair surrounding the seeds of *Bombax malabaricum*. Whenever possible the trouble involved in kindling a fresh fire is avoided and a light is taken from the hearth of a neighbour, but if the necessity arises a Chenchu can produce a fire with great rapidity.

In the care of the house a Chenchu woman only uses a small broom (*parka*) made of grass, loosely bound in the upper third, to sweep her floor and the space in front of her house and in the preparation of food she uses few utensils. Chillies are ground with round stones or small wooden mallets and here and there in those villages where grain is easy to procure the Chenchus use the ordinary grinding mills of the Telugu country. Food cooked in pots is stirred with wooden spoons (*tedu*), which are also used as ladles for serving out food. They have shallow bowls hollowed by knife and long tapering handles which are sometimes decorated with a carved zigzag design, but they are seldom washed and after use are ranged handle down against the wattle wall to dry, later to be stuck into the thatch or left to lie on the floor near the fire. Flat wooden dishes for serving food are sometimes ornamented with similar carved designs.

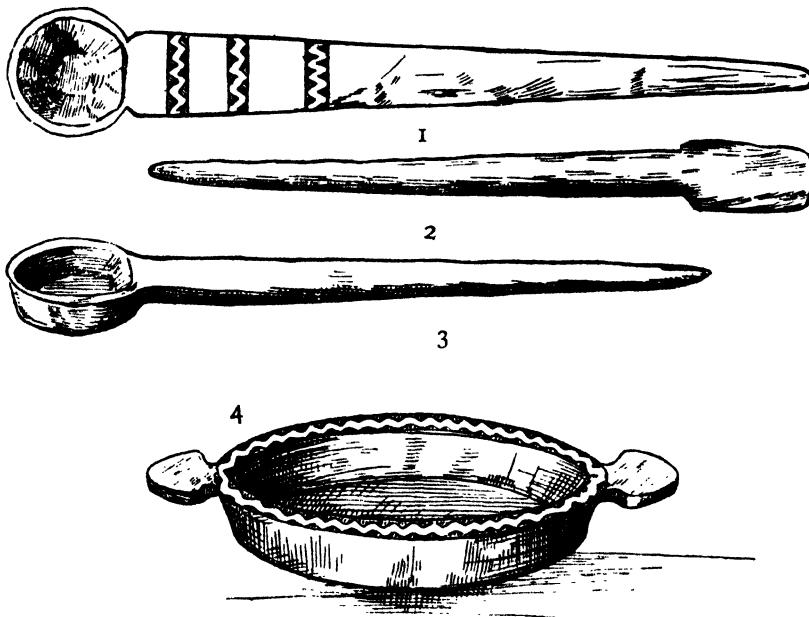


FIGURE F.
1, 3. Spoons with bowl; 2. Flat spoon for stirring food;
4. Wooden dish with carved ornamentation.

Today the most substantial part of a Chenchu's household goods are the numerous earthen pots which are bought in the plains bazaars and used for carrying water, cooking and milking as well as for distilling mohua liquor. Spherical pots (*kunda*) are used for carrying water and for cooking, while flat earthen saucers (*chippa*) are used for serving such food as millet porridge, and people with cattle sometimes milk into small brass pots (*pal munta*), which they use also as drinking vessels. Milk is heated and ghee stored in special pots, with out-turned lips (*atko*) in which the ghee is also made by means of a rope-turned churner (*sala kovum*) of the ordinary type found in the plains; the Chenchus have, however, learnt to make these churners themselves by splitting the end of a bamboo into five slats and lashing their ends to a cane ring 3 inches in diameter.

Although pots are now extensively used, the Chenchus still vaguely remember the time when they had no pots, but only bamboo-vessels and gourds. But today gourds (*bura*) are only employed as store receptacles for such articles as tinder, salt and old pieces of cloth, and bamboo vessels are only used as measures (*gidda*) for grain and minor forest produce. Gourds are planted near Chenchu houses and the fruit when it swells is picked, well dried in the sun, and the seeds shaken out. *Gidda* are short sections of thick bamboo-culms, the inside enlarged by knife and the outside often decorated with incised designs of a type which will be discussed later (cf. p. 40); their size is regulated for convenience with the standard measures of one seer, half a seer and a quarter seer. *Gidda* are also hollowed from solid wood, *Combretum ovalifolium* being most commonly used, and sometimes made of basketry (*buti gidda*).

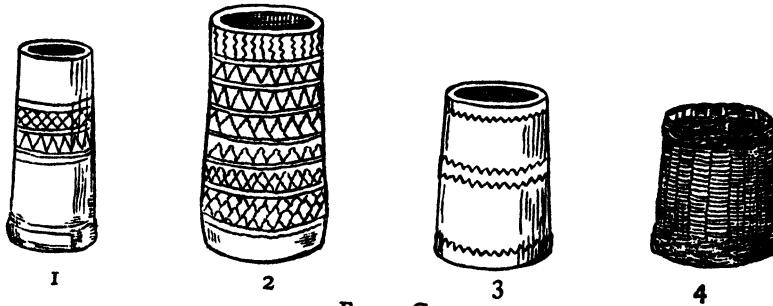


FIGURE G.

- 1, 2. Bamboo measure with *vanna* ornamentation;
3. Wooden measure;
4. Measure of basket-work.

Baskets are one of the few commodities which the Chenchu produces himself on any considerable scale, for basket ware is not only

constantly needed in his own house, but finds a ready market among the neighbouring plains populations. A Chenchu man, and it is only men who engage in this industry, can easily complete a couple of medium sized baskets in a day, but his energy is never great enough to enable him to enter into any large scale or regular transactions.

The baskets the Chenchu manufactures can be classed into two main types: baskets of coarse weave, and finer weave, globular shaped baskets on stands. In making both these types he employs however the same wickerwork technique, that is, he uses a rigid, broad plait warp, into which he weaves lengths of triangularly spliced bamboo weft.

Coarse baskets are made in a variety of shapes and in varying sizes according to the purposes for which they are intended. Round shallow pans (*arvi gumpa*) are used for drying fruit on house roofs or in forks of trees, straight-sided circular baskets for collecting jungle produce, V-sided baskets (*gulla buti*) (Fig. H, 1 and 70), the wickerwork sometimes sealed with cow-dung or earth and thus rendered waterproof, for collecting juicy fruits and mohua flowers; round-sided baskets (*gumpa*) used for keeping clothes and as store baskets by those Chenchus living on the outskirts of the plains, and small baskets with lids (*mota buti*) and carrying-strings which hang up in the houses and serve as receptacles for ornaments and other treasures.

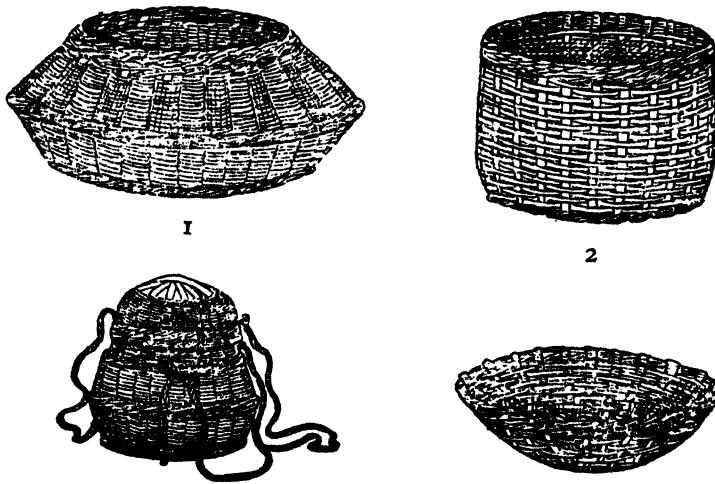


FIGURE H.

1-2. Collecting baskets ; 3. Store basket (*mota buti*) ;
4. Pan (*arvi gumpa*) for drying fruit.

All baskets are woven either checked or twilled, lattice twining being used to strengthen the rims and base and in the case of the V-sided baskets lattice twining is also used to strengthen the V-side at the angle. The flat bottoms of the baskets are formed by the stellar arrangement of the warp, the weft only being introduced when the warp has been turned up to form the side, and it is therefore often necessary to reinforce the basket bottoms with diagonal strips of spliced bamboo (Fig. 31). In the covered baskets the lattice twining is used as decoration, and an attempt is sometimes made at pattern by alternating green weft (made from the outside stem of the bamboo) with white weft, and this gives quite a pleasing effect. The same device is used in the decoration of wattle house doors, and in this case the bands of alternating colour are as much as 6 inches deep (Fig. 32).

The fine weave baskets of globular shape, with stands and long carrying strings to tie round the hips, appear to be a specialized type although the technique of manufacture is somewhat similar to the coarse weave baskets described above (Fig. E, 1). The Chenchus call these baskets *teana buti* or honey basket and consider them so much part of a man's equipment that they tie them on the hips during dances as necessary properties for dramas of Chenchu life. In some villages people told me that they had inherited their 'honey baskets' from their grandfathers and no longer knew how to make them, but in other parts of the plateau they are still manufactured and in one house I was shown a series of three, made by grandfather, father and son; the son would only part with the one he himself had made.

Both warp and weft are finer than the coarse weave baskets; the same check weaving is employed, but no twining is used as strengthening and the weaving commences as near as possible to the point of radiation of the warp, so as to allow the basket to take a spherical form. The rim is finished with double $\frac{1}{4}$ inch bands of superimposed bamboo. The basket is set firmly upon a thin hoop of *Combretum ovalifolium* wood, 2 inches wide, which is held in place by four triple cords that run down the sides of the basket from rim to stand and are pinned in position at several points; long carrying cords linked over the bottom of the basket, pass through holes in the stand, and under the double bamboo rim. The whole basket is smeared with resin when completed, and this renders it waterproof and suitable for carrying honey and even water.

It is remarkable that the Chenchus, who are fairly skilful makers of baskets of the wickerwork type, cannot make articles of plaited basket work. An attempt was made some years ago to introduce the art of plaited basket work, but the Chenchus did not take kindly to this new technique and a few frail rectangular boxes in some of the houses of Vatellapalli and Sarlapalli is all that remains of the experiment;

they therefore purchase in bazaars such articles as winnowing fans, which they use for cleaning grain, and mats, which are today rapidly taking the place of the traditional animal skin.

In olden days the Chenchus used the skins of animals brought down in the chase to sleep and lie on; cutting off head and paws they dried them in the sun and laid them on the floor of their huts or beside their hearths. Today a goat skin carried in the dance is a feminine property, symbolic of the wife, and in many houses there are still skins in use, though the black and white domestic goat has largely replaced the tawny wild goat, while deer and sambhur skins are very rare indeed.

The Chenchus know nothing of the art of tanning, but they use shaved sun-cured hide for drum membranes (cf. p. 41) as well as for making skin-bottles (*titi*), which are roughly sewn with coarse thongs and are used for carrying water when out on hunting or collecting excursions. It is difficult to say whether these skin-bottles are an old element of Chenchu culture, for although some Chenchus emphasized that this type of bottle was used at a time when pots were unknown, others said that Chenchus could not make such bottles but obtained them from graziers in the plains, who do indeed possess bottles of a very similar type.

The only toilette articles of the Chenchus are wooden combs and flat tapering pieces of wood used in killing lice. Besides the usual double edged fine toothed combs of the plains there is the home-made type (*netichiku*), which is roughly carved from wood with four to eight thick teeth on one end and the other tapering into a handle between one and three inches long.

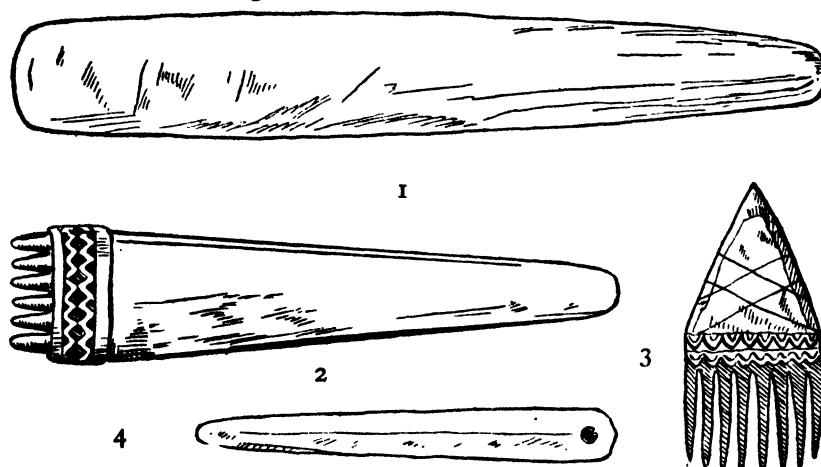


FIGURE I.

1. Head-scratcher used in killing lice ; 2-3 Combs ;
4. Bone-knife (*gorenka kata*) worn on a string round the neck.

Combs are one of the few articles among his possessions that the Chenchu decorates with any kind of ornamentation; the tapering handles are often carved in relief with raised bands of zigzags and triangles, and the same pattern is occasionally found on the handles of wooden spoons.

Since examples of decorative art are too scarce to justify a separate chapter, they may conveniently be discussed here. The Chenchu has as a rule little inclination to embellish either his implements or house, but he is on the other hand not entirely insensitive to the pleasing effect of regular pattern. Thus when weaving a wattle door for his house, he will arrange the green and white sides of the weft in equal bands (cf. p. 51), or in using new and old thatch to construct his house roof, he will see that layers of the old black straw alternate regularly with that of light yellow colour. Yet, no Chenchu ever thinks of carving his housepost or ornamenting the frame of his door and it is only such small wooden and bamboo objects as measuring vessels (*gidda*), flutes (*dumand kutta*) and combs which occasionally receive ornamentation. Although the number of ornamented objects that came to my notice was small, it seems that two different styles are discernible; the one geometrical and the other naturalistic, the latter often showing a strong tendency towards conventionalization. The geometrical patterns are engraved or cut in relief, the designs most frequently employed being recurrent triangles, zigzags and cross hatching both oblique and vertical. Thus the base and rim of one *gidda* had borders of recurrent triangles, while there was also a zigzag band round the centre, the intermittent fields being left unornamented. Another example is afforded by the incised ornamentation on a bamboo flute, consisting of fields of oblique cross hatching alternating with double parallel bands, which were internally decorated with incised slats. Purely geometric designs are sometimes executed with the sharp point of a knife, but a more favoured process is engraving with a small twisting iron spike in a manner known as *vanna*. *Vanna* is used for a type of ornamentation which tends towards the naturalistic designs. Thus on one bamboo flute in my collection, the centre field is occupied by the engravings of snakes and other conventionalized animals, but to both sides of this field are bands of what might be described as recurrent triangles between parallel lines. These triangles are roughly drawn, hardly any line being perfectly straight, and in view of the naturalistic character of the central field and the fact that purely geometrical figures can be accurately and neatly executed, as proved by other examples, it would seem that these rough figures were crude representations of mountains (Fig. J, 1). The same crudely drawn recurrent triangles between parallel lines are also a favourite pattern for the ornamentation of *gidda* (Fig. G, 2).





FIG. 31. *Guruvaru of Menlur Clan who suffers from Taies, making a basket.*



The best example of a purely naturalistic scene is the engraving on a gourd, constituting part of a pan-flute (Fig. J, 4). This engraving shows a tiger chasing a stag and seems to embody a spirit very different from that expressed in the geometrical ornamentation of *gidda*, bamboo flutes and combs, for there is definite movement in the figures. Although the naturalistic style is rarely found in the ornamentation of implements it is undoubtedly congenial to the Chenchu, for when I provided some Chenchus of Pulajelma with paper and pencil, none of them drew geometric designs, but figures which were all highly naturalistic expressions of humans and animals.

There are a fair number of musical instruments in Chenchu villages, but the majority are certainly of recent introduction. Most important is the single membrane drum (*dapardi*), which is used during all dances (Fig. 64). The *dapardi* is made of goat skin and varies in diameter between 12 and 18 inches. Shaved and dried in the sun, the skin is stretched over a hoop of tamarind wood which has previously been smeared with a thick paste of tamarind juice. Until the paste is fast and dry the skin is bound to the hoop with fibre or string, but after some time the lashings are cut and the skin trimmed to the edge of the hoop.

The drum is hung round the neck on a cord and supported by the left hand; it is played with two drum sticks about 9 inches long, a smooth tapering cylinder of tamarind (*chinta kata*) held in the right hand and a splinter of bamboo (*yedri kata*) held in the left hand, which also supports the drum; but I have seen Chenchus use a stout reed instead of the *yedri kata*. The drum is raised to the right pitch over the flames of a fire of quick burning grass, which tightens the membrane, until it gives a strong resonant note. Some Chenchus say that their ancestors did not always possess such drums and that they learnt drum-making from the monkeys (cf. p. 225), but according to another tradition this instrument was introduced by a body of later immigrants (cf. p. 90).

Flutes (*dumand kutta*) are made of thin bamboo; they have a bevelled mouthpiece, with one stop quite near and two others further down the flute, while the end is sometimes shelved. These flutes are played vertically and are generally decorated with incised patterns.

A more elaborate wind instrument is the pan-pipe (*naga seram*) made of two river reeds and a small gourd (Fig. 30). The gourd is picked just before it is ripe and left to dry for a period of several months; it is then pierced at either end and the contents shaken out. Two lengths of river reed about 6 inches long are inserted into the head of the gourd and fixed with gum; the pipe is blown vertically from the narrow end of the gourd, while variations in tone are achieved by stops

on the reeds. One of these instruments bore one of the rare examples of naturalistic decorative art, which I came across in the hills; a rough incised drawing of a tiger chasing a stag.

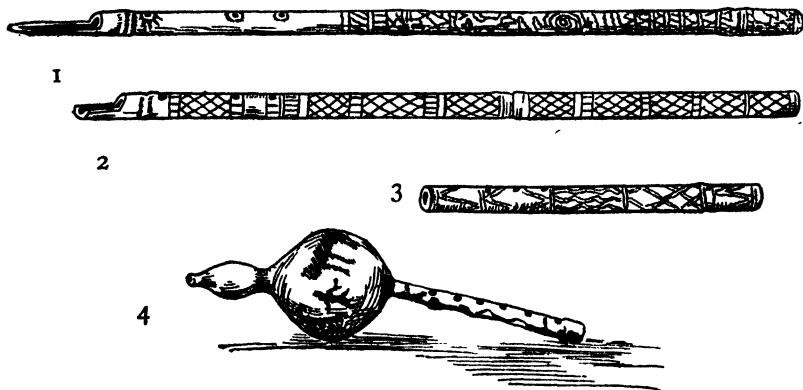


FIGURE J.

- 1, 3. Flutes with design in *vanna* technique;
2. Flute with geometrical, incised design;
4. Pan-flute with naturalistic engraving.

The most recent and most complicated addition to the Chenchus choice of musical instruments is the *kineri*, an instrument of the guitar type (Fig. 33). Using as a base a stem of bamboo the Chenchu stretches two metal strings over nine bone bridges and adjusts them by means of two pegs, one high and one low, which are situated at the upper end of the bamboo stem. Three gourds attached to the bamboo base serve as resonators, different notes are produced by fingering, and the strings are plucked with the fingers of the right hand. Usually the instrument is adorned with a tuft of peacock's feathers, which is stuck into the upper end of the bamboo stem.

There can be no doubt that the *kineri* is borrowed from the plains, where it is indeed a common instrument, but it speaks for the musical talent of the Chenchus, that they can not only make this instrument in the hills, but that many young men are able to play simple tunes, which are quite pleasing to the ear. I am unfortunately not well enough versed in Indian music to say whether these tunes are of any originality or are entirely copied from Telugu melodies.

Reviewing the material possessions in the hands of the Chenchus, it would seem, that the bulk of their culture has been adopted from their more civilised neighbours, and though this is certainly true of the



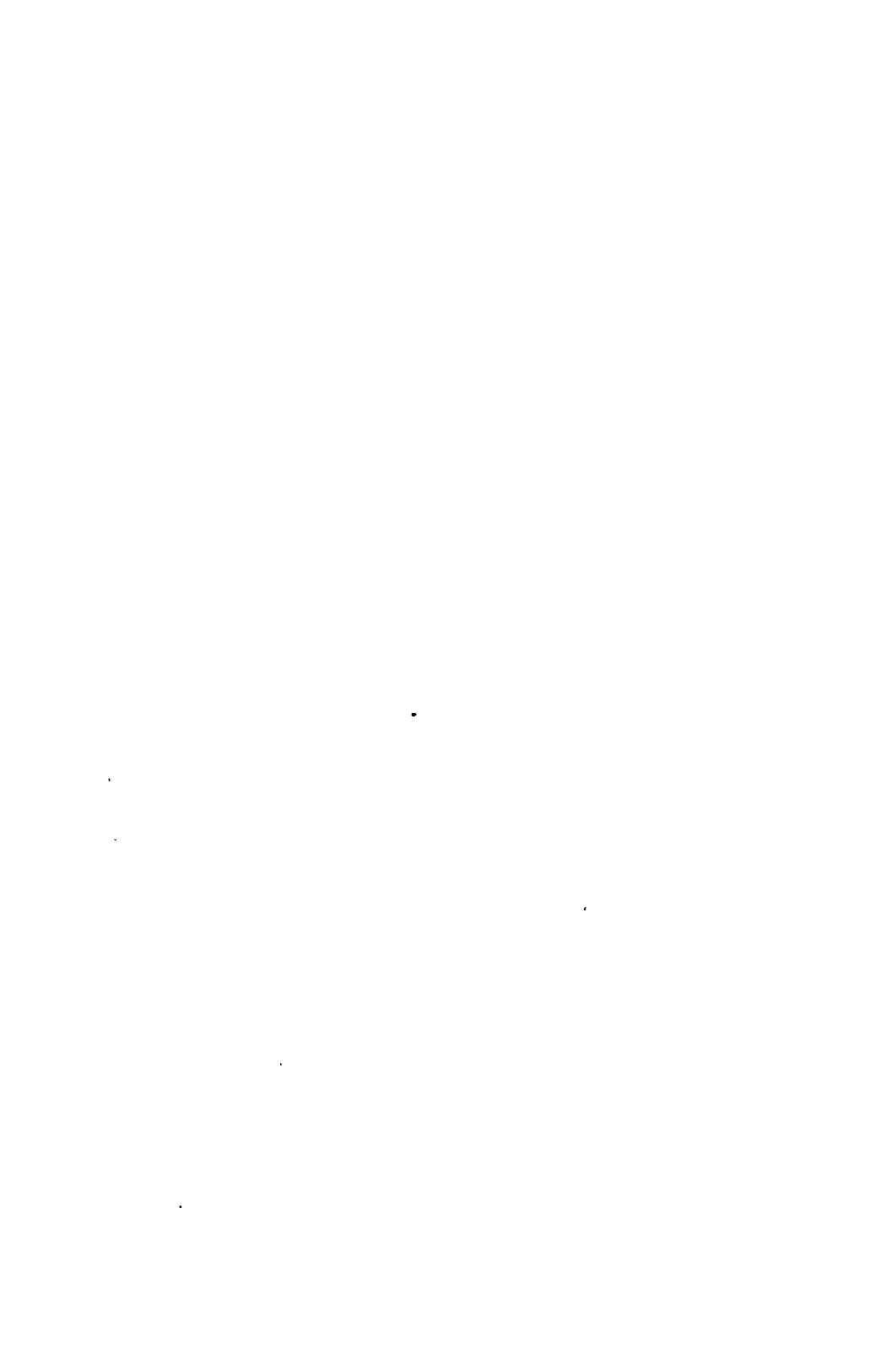
FIG. 33. *The peddamanchi of Malapuri with his kineri.*





FIG. 35. *Chenchus crossing the Kistna on a raft.*





utensils and implements it will be shown in the following chapters, how little these improved tools have changed the essential pattern of Chen-chu culture, which remains, in spite of the use of iron instruments and textiles, a culture of semi-nomadic hunters and food-collectors.

CHAPTER V

SETTLEMENTS AND DWELLINGS

THE CHENCHUS still tell of a time when their ancestors owned no houses, but roamed the jungle, living under trees and in rock-shelters. That this time does not lie further back than a few centuries is borne out by a passage in Ferishta's *History of Dekkan*, where we find the following description of the Chenchus whom a Mahommedan army met between Kurnool and Nudall in 1694 A.D. : "Their common food is honey, the roots of trees, plants, and the flesh of animals caught in hunting. They are exceedingly black with long hair on every part of their bodies, and on their heads wore caps made of the leaves of trees. Each man had with him unbarbed arrows and a bow for hunting. They molest no one and live in caverns or under the shady branches of trees."¹

Annual Migrations.

Today the Chenchus have learnt to build houses of bamboo and to thatch them with grass, but they have by no means abandoned their nomadic habits and it would be erroneous to suppose that all Chenchus dwell in solidly built houses and permanent settlements throughout the year. Certainly the villages of Sarlapalli, Railet and Pulajelima are inhabited permanently, but in these places the Chenchus are not entirely dependent on the food collected in the forest; for owing to the proximity of the cart-track, the bungalow at Farahabad, and the continual contact with Forest officials and contractors, they have many sources of supply and have become to a certain extent emancipated from Mother Nature. This does not apply, however, to the Chenchus of the more secluded south-western portion of the plateau. Here their dependence on the natural products of the forest forces them to follow the train of the seasons and at certain times of the year to leave the villages where they have their well-built houses for places with more water and increased possibilities for the collection of edible plants. The Chenchu does not regard these migrations as a burdensome necessity, however, but seems to be driven to them by a strong nomadic instinct; for even groups who find sufficient food in the vicinity of their permanent villages will leave their comfortable houses, as the time of the annual migration approaches, and erect temporary shelters in the jungle, perhaps as little as a mile away.

1. Ferishta's *History of Dekkan* by Jonathan Scott, Shrewsbury 1794, Vol. II, pp. 83, 84.

The whole of the Chenchu area is divided into clearly defined tracts, belonging to the various village communities. Within each tract is one permanent settlement, and it is by the name of this that the whole community is known. The permanent village is invariably inhabited during the rains and the greater part of the cold weather, but in January it is frequently deserted, either by all or some of the individual families, which disperse and live in small temporary settlements during the next three or four months. Many of these settlements lie low down on the banks of the Kistna River, but others are hidden in the jungle in places where water and food is assured. Towards the end of March when the corollæ of the mohua tree (*Bassia latifolia*) provide ample food and the raw material for distilling liquor, the Chenchus seek out places where these trees are plentiful and move from the valleys up on to the plateau, either back to their permanent village or to other temporary settlements on the hills.

The functioning of these migratory habits can be demonstrated best by a concrete example and as such the village of Irla Penta will serve. Irla Penta lies on a ridge at a height of about 1,800 feet, only three and a half miles north of the Kistna River. At present, the village community consists of eleven households (cf. p. 331), but none of these remain in Irla Penta after the end of the cold weather. The *peddamanchi* or headman, who owns cattle, moves down to the woods on the banks of the Kistna River, where he and one other family of his clan build temporary shelters on a site called Terkaldari. There they remain for two or three months, but at the time of the mohua season they go back to the hills, either spending a short time at Vakarmamidi Penta, a site on a ridge near Terkaldari, where each of them has a small hut, or returning directly to Irla Penta. Three other families of Irla Penta settle six miles upstream on the open bank of the Kistna and, when I visited their settlement in March, a family from Boramacheruvu had joined this group. They had built no proper shelters, but lived on the rocks near the water, only wedging a few branches between the cracks to protect themselves against the afternoon sun and if it rained, the little colony sought refuge in a nearby rock-shelter (Fig. 40). Each family had its own hearth, but except for a few pots and collecting baskets, they had brought no other household goods.

Another man of Irla Penta with his two wives and his five children settles every year in Yemlapaya, where he has built a good house and grows tobacco and Indian corn during the rains. Here he is only an hour's walk from the colony on the Kistna, but apparently he prefers the solitariness of his one-house settlement. At the time of the mohua flowers he brings his family up to the plateau and settles by the tank in Boramacheruvu. His brother's widow, a woman with three unmarried daughters, also leaves Irla Penta every year for Borama-

cheruvu, her native village, where the tank provides enough water for her buffaloes.

The four remaining households of Irla Penta move every January to a site on a narrow rock-ledge overlooking the mouth of Kampu Vagu, a couple of furlongs from the Kistna, where they find sufficient fodder and water for their cattle. At the end of March they shift to Nardi Penta, on a nearby spur, where each family owns a proper house. They too return to Irla Penta at the beginning of the rains.

Although most groups now follow the same migratory routine year after year, their movements are fairly elastic and each family is free in its choice of a camping ground for the hot weather.

The annual migrations of the people of Irla Penta have close parallels in other villages. The Chenchus of the neighbouring village of Medimankal follow a system which differs only in detail, for they have two villages with permanent houses for all families, namely Medimankal and Sangrigundal, and in addition two subsidiary settlements, Lingabore and Pandibore. Since there is no water in Medimankal during the hot season, the inhabitants move between these alternative village-sites, at times foregathering in Sangrigundal, and at others splitting up into smaller groups living at Pandibore and Lingabore, while some families even cross the Kistna and stay for a time on the other side of the river.

Though these semi-nomadic habits have been best preserved among the Chenchus in the south-west of the plateau, they exist to a lesser extent among those of the Vatellapalli ridge (cf. pp. 352-363) and even some of the Chenchus on the Amrabad ledge are, in spite of their symbiosis with plough-cultivating plains people, not really settled, but often move up into the hills at times when various kinds of fruits or the mohua flowers are in season.

Village Sites

It is difficult to determine exactly which aspects influence the Chenchu when selecting a site for a permanent village. Fruit-bearing trees and a plenty of mohua is certainly an asset to a locality and though a perennial water-supply is an important factor, it is apparently not a decisive one, for both Medimankal and Malapur have no water during the hot season, and at Appapur and Rampur there are times when it becomes extremely scarce. The Chenchu seems to favour equally an open site on the top of a ridge, with a wide view over the surrounding hills, and one situated in a hollow, well protected by high forest, for both types occur frequently, and I have never heard a Chenchu express a preference. The only statement I drew from the people of Boramacheruvu was to the effect that they build their villages

in positions from which they can quickly disperse when danger threatens. Perhaps this is a relic of olden days when they lived in the open, alert to every danger, but it may also date from more recent times, when they learnt the advantage of avoiding outsiders. Settlements are never built close to water for fear of the wild animals that come to drink, but in a clearing some distance away; at Sangrigundal, for instance, where a cool shady valley with running perennial water would seem to offer an ideal site, the houses stand about three furlongs away on a barren stretch of sheer rock.

Permanent village sites are occupied for periods ranging from ten to fifteen years, but houses may be shifted a few feet when they are rebuilt every two or three years. If disease ravages the village and many deaths occur, a site is often deserted and then the settlement may be rebuilt some distance away or in extreme case completely abandoned. In the great epidemic about twenty years ago many villages on the eastern side of the plateau were deserted, their inhabitants scattering and joining other settlements, but the villagers of Boramacheruvu, where the disease took also a heavy toll built a new settlement about half a mile from the old one, to which however they have now returned.

The size of the permanent settlements varies considerably, for as we will show in a subsequent chapter the population fluctuates backwards and forwards and is never stable. From the following list compiled in March 1940 it will be seen that the average number of houses in a village of the Jungle Chenchus is about six or seven, yet small as this number may appear, there is a tendency for the larger villages to split up into smaller settlements situated within a short distance of each other; thus we find that Irla Penta, Boramacheruvu and Rampur each comprise two groups of houses while in Sarlapalli there are three; we will observe in Chapter XII how it is the kin-groups which constitute these smaller settlements.

Chenchu villages on the Upper Plateau

Irla Penta	..	..	11 houses	(2 settlements)
Medimankal	..	..	7 houses	
Boramacheruvu	..	..	6 houses	(2 settlements)
Appapur	..	..	9 houses	
Rampur	..	..	11 houses	(2 settlements)
Bikit Penta	..	..	3 houses	
Pullaipalli	..	..	3 houses	
Malapur	..	..	5 houses	
Pulajelma	..	..	13 houses	
Railet Banda	..	..	11 houses	

Vatellapalli	..	..	8 houses	
Sarlapalli	..	..	13 houses	(3 settlements)
Patur Bayal	..	..	2 houses	
Timmareddipalli	..	..	3 houses	
Koman Penta	..	..	8 houses	

Two definite types can be distinguished among the sites of permanent settlements. In the park-like country of the northern side of the plateau villages such as Sarlapalli, Vatellapalli, Koman Penta and Pulajelma are built on level clearings surrounded by tall trees. The houses stand usually to one side and face the clearing with their main-posts driven into the soil, which in these places is generally fairly deep. The ground surrounding the houses is cleared of grass and the floor of the huts as well as the space immediately in front is smeared with a thin layer of cow or buffalo dung. The lay-out of these villages does not follow any definite plan, but the houses are generally arranged in a rough crescent, often open to the east, and there is a tendency for blood-relations to build their houses close together, a little apart from other kin-groups and sometimes to enclose the houses of two or more near relations within one fence. Generally the village consists only of dwelling houses, but in such villages as Vatellapalli which are in constant touch with outsiders there may be an occasional shed for goats and rough stands for fodder; however, no communal building, men's dormitory, or menstruation hut, is found in any Chenchu village.

The other type of site for a permanent village, which predominates in the south-western part of the area, is characterized by the stretches of naked rock on which the houses stand. The Chenchus select these barren places on which to build their settlements on account of the great advantages they offer during the rains when the water drains rapidly off the slanting rock, leaving both site and foundation clean and dry. Such rock foundations, on the other hand, present great difficulties to the housebuilder, for floors must be built up a few inches with stones consolidated with mud, and posts and stakes cannot be driven into the ground, but must be propped up by stones. Houses built on rock are consequently liable to much damage by gales, though they are blown down less frequently than one would expect. The arrangement of the houses in this type of settlement is adapted to the surface of the rock formation, but they are generally orientated eastwards.

Quite different conditions are taken into consideration when choosing a site for a temporary settlement, for during the hot season the Chenchus seek protection from the sun, favouring sheltered positions in the depth of the forest. But although most 'summer settlements' lie beneath trees, the Irla Penta people camping in the open



FIG. 37. *The permanent village of Appapur.*





FIG. 39. *The jungle settlement of Boramacherawu.*



among the rocks of the Kistna bed would suggest that when other advantages are sufficiently great the Chenchu will forego the comfort of a shady camp. At a time of the year, when food is usually scarce, it is of the greatest importance to live within easy reach of good collecting grounds and the primary motive for the annual migrations is undoubtedly the quest for food. Thus the Chenchu moves from place to place within the boundary of his village land as the fruits in the various regions come into season, leaving each particular tract as food grows scarce.

While the houses of the permanent villages are all of the same type, which will be described presently, a great variety of huts and shelters, ranging from small, roughly conical grass huts to one-sided leaf shelters, are found in the temporary settlements, while some families, as has been already stated, live entirely in the open.

Houses and House-building

The Chenchu builds his permanent house (*gade illu*) solidly with a circular wattle wall and a conical thatched roof (Fig. 41). Generally, this house is rebuilt every two or three years, though much of the old material is incorporated in the new building. If you ask a Chenchu, he will say that he builds his house himself, but in point of fact this is far from being the case. He may measure out the ground, prepare the bamboos, stake and weave the wattle wall, but it takes two men to hitch the bamboo rafters over the forked centre post and to negotiate the many bundles of slippery grass for the thatch. Near relations and friends help each other in building, but except perhaps in the case of a man who is expected to build the house of his aged parents, there is no definite obligation in this respect, nor does the owner repay the service by feasting the helpers with food or drink, though he does probably offer his help when the other man rebuilds his house.

After choosing the house site, and when the necessary bamboos—about twenty are required for an ordinary sized house—have been cut, spliced and trimmed, a man measures off a piece of string on his forearm, giving it three, four or five times the length from elbow to finger tip. Then he marks the centre of his site, and with the help of the string describes a circle, staking it every 3 or 4 inches with bamboo stakes (*wiluwu*) 4 feet high. The houses are thus between 8 and 15 feet in diameter. Towards the rising sun an opening 3 feet wide is left for the doorway. In weaving the wattle walls twilling is employed and the green side of the bamboo weft and warp is kept on the outside so that the rain may easily slide off the smooth surface; each length of bamboo weft (*alkampedu*) is started at a different point, the weft being bent round the door stakes and returned to form the next row.

When the walls (*dara*) stand about 4 feet high, the frame of the door (*yidupu*), the lintel resting on two forked posts, is set up and lashed with fibre in the door opening on the outside of the wattle walls. Curiously enough the house-wall is sometimes constructed on a convenient open place and transported on completion to the selected house site.

The centre post (*nitudu*), like the frame of the door, is made of *Hardwickia binata* or *Albizzia odoratissima*, 6 to 10 feet high; it should be straight and strong with a wide natural fork (*koruku*) at the top, that will take the rafters for the roof. Where the house-foundation is of soft soil the centre post, stripped of bark, is sunk into a hole, made by women, but when building on rock, the Chenchu props it up by stones so that it is held in position until the roof is completed and imparts by its weight and its strong juncture with the wall sufficient stability to keep the post erect. I have even seen houses where the centre post had been removed after the roof was completed. The bamboos for the rafters (*malpalu*) are chosen for other qualities than the strong smooth stems for the wattle walls, for they must be bushy with many small twigs to afford ample support to the thatch. They are pared in the middle and hitched over the fork of the centre post, so that the two ends fall on opposite side of the house (Fig. 42). A fair sized building requires five such double pared rafters, but if the fork of the centre post will not take all five, even when widened, other single rafters (*porolu*) are tied in position.

Before thatching starts, a pad of grass or leaves is bound on top of the rafters, where they overlap the walls, to prevent the first layer of grass from slipping.

While the men erect the house, the women cut many bundles of dried yellow grass for the thatch (*kure*), which they carry home on their heads, and stack near the new house. Thatching is worked from below upwards, each successive layer overlapping the one below and being held in place by a strip of bamboo that encircles the roof and acts as a binder (*idde duba*), which in turn is tied to the rafters. To tease out the grass evenly over the rafters and bind and pin it in place great skill is required. With a twist of the wrist, the long strip of bamboo is flicked into position so that encircling the roof it lies in the middle of the thatch layer. There it is held firmly with the left hand and at intervals pinned in position. This part of the work is done by two men; for one must stand inside the house, thread a bamboo needle with fibre and push it through the thatch, while another man on the outside draws the needle from the thatch, passes the fibre over the bamboo binder, and returns the needle through the thatch to the man inside, who unthreads it and ties the two ends of fibre over a rafter. After the first two layers of thatch have been bound in position, the work





FIG. 42. *Hitching the rafters over the forked centre pole.*



FIG. 43. *Houses at Pulajelma.*

can no longer be carried out from the ground, and one of the men climbs on to the roof, while another passes up the bundles of grass on the end of a long bamboo. When the thatching is completed, the man who by this time is perched on the peak of the roof, is passed the crown, a broad hoop made of *Combretium ovalifolium*, which he slips neatly over his head and presses well down over the cone of the roof. Finally, long twigged bamboos are laid over the thatch and lashed to the crown to prevent the dry grass from straying in the wind.

The door is made of wattle. The weft is woven in and out of four widely spaced stakes; the worker sits on the stakes and maintains the width by means of his feet (Fig. 32), and when the weaving is completed he adds several strengthening stakes. Doors are often woven in large bands of alternating green and white weft, 5 or 6 inches deep. A simple but effective hinge is made by lashing the door loosely to the door-post with strands of creeper fibre.

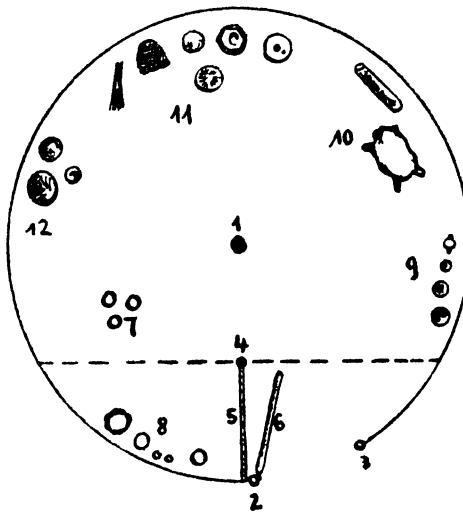


FIGURE K.

Plan of Permanent Chenchu House.

1. Centre post ; 2-3 Door posts ; 4. Forked post supporting shelf ; 5. Wattle screen ;
6. Door ; 7. Hearth stones ; 8. Cooking pots, *gidda*, etc. ; 9. Eating dishes ; 10. Mats, skins ; 11. Collecting and store baskets, grinding stone, winnowing fan ; broom ;
12. Water-pots.

The entrance to the house is generally situated to the right of the centre post, and the door, which opens inwards, stands ajar when the owners are in the village. But when the Chenchu is away from home, he pulls the door to and fastens it by a knot of fibre twine.

To the left of the door stand the pots, bamboo vessels, wooden spoons and grinding stones that are used in the preparation of food. The three stones that serve as the hearth lie to the left of the centre post, while the family takes its food in the space to the right, and against the wall opposite the doorway stand a medley of baskets, brooms and other odds and ends. There is often a shelf, erected on forked posts over the doorway, where baskets, winnowing fans, and other personal belongings may be kept, and in some houses a low wattle wall directly behind the open door, screens the fire from the draft. Bows, arrows, milk-churners, wooden spoons, and nit combs are all stuck in the roof thatch, while honey baskets and gourds generally hang from the rafters.

The inside of a Chenchu house is very orderly. The floor is swept twice a day and the ashes are thrown on the rubbish heap at the back or to the side of the house, while Chenchus with cattle periodically smear their floors with dung. But no provision is made for the escape of the smoke, which filters slowly through the thatch, so that the rafters of the roof and everything not in constant use is always thickly coated with soot and black grimy cobwebs. On the whole, however, Chenchu houses present a surprisingly clean and well kept appearance.

The dwellings in the temporary settlements are much less elaborate and can usually be constructed in an hour or two. The most solid are the low grass huts (*pendri illu*) (Fig. 45), which in form fall between beehive and cone. The grass is thatched over a conical framework of sticks secured at the apex and having a base diameter of about 6 feet. The thatch rises directly from the ground and there is no central post. The oval entrance is between 2 and 3 feet high, and can be closed by a tufted grass screen, but once inside it is impossible to stand erect. This type of hut is sometimes also erected in permanent villages for old widows.

Even simpler than the low grass huts, are shelters constructed of leafy branches (*kotam*), which as long as they remain green, provide moderate protection against light showers, but when after some time the leaves shrivel and dry serve only as screens against the sun. Some of these shelters are built in rectangular shape with posts to support the flat roof and vertical walls, but others are low lean-to sheds of stout branches in leaf, sometimes erected against tree-trunks and enclosing a ground space which is roughly triangular (Fig. 44).

Occasionally Chenchus dispense even with these rudimentary structures, and in the hot weather camp of the Malapur people I found one couple living in the shade of a clump of bamboos, with only a small vertical leaf-screen, about 3 feet high 6 feet long protecting their hearth on one side.

In most temporary settlements several types of huts and shelters are to be found and in the summer settlement of Boramacheruvu there



FIG. 44. *Temporary leaf-shelter.*





FIG. 46. *Hair-dressing.*



were two grass huts, two square leaf-shelters, and a rough lean-to shed. When questioned as to the reason for this variety, the inhabitants said, that those who do not mind the work put up grass huts, while lazy people erect only leaf-shelters.

There can be no doubt that the primitive leaf-shelters, today found only in temporary settlements during the dry season, represent a survival of one of the early types of dwellings, in which the Chenchus must have lived in those days before they learnt to build proper houses. Before they acquired this art, which ties them to one village site for at least a part of the year, their movements must have been even more nomadic than they are now and the lack of cohesion of the Chenchu village as a social unit, which will be discussed later, probably dates from those times when they roamed the forest in small family groups of no permanent abode.

PART II
ECONOMICS

CHAPTER VI

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF CHENCHU ECONOMICS

THE economic system of the Chenchus is essentially that of a tribe of hunters and food-collectors. The Chenchu depends for nine-tenths of his food-supply on that which nature provides and it is only a limited number of families who, by owning a few domestic animals, are emerging from this lowest and primæval stage of human development. Cultivation is generally restricted to the planting of small plots of millet or Indian corn and the raising of a few tomatoes and chillies in the immediate vicinity of the houses. The resultant crops, however, are too negligible to add appreciably to the food-supply of the Chenchus.

Indeed any provision for the future is alien to Chenchu mentality. To wake in the morning with no food in the house does not disturb him in the least. He proceeds leisurely to the jungle to collect roots and fruits, satisfying his hunger as occasion offers, and returns to the village in the evening to share with his family all that he has brought home. There is no storing of eatables against an emergency, or indeed is any thought given to the morrow, for almost all food is instantly consumed. Under such conditions, it is only the mutual assistance between families forming the local village group, that tides the individual over crises such as illness.

The Chenchu's horizon is bounded by the present and to speak of an economic "system" when dealing with a tribe living so completely from hand to mouth is liable to create a false impression, for it is just the lack of "system" that is so characteristic of Chenchu economics. In hunting and in the gathering of fruits, the fundamental basis of the old economy, this trait is most pronounced, while with the adoption of new enterprises a change of mental attitude necessarily occurs. Thus the preparation of mohua liquor calls for a certain foresight, since the flowers must be gathered and dried for several successive days before distilling can commence, and the good prices some villages can obtain by selling dried flower to plains people have induced the Chenchu to curb his own instincts and to store the flowers in pits against

the time of the best offer. Similarly in the breeding of buffaloes and oxen provision must be made for mating. We may conclude therefore that, since in certain spheres the Chenchu does exercise foresight, the lack of providence is a cultural and not a racial trait, or in other words, that it is not owing to a mental disposition that the Chenchu so seldom plans for the future, but rather that his own culture presents no opportunity for planned economic activity. I am conscious that this may appear a vicious circle, for was it not due to the Chenchus peculiar mentality, we might argue, that he has not developed more systematic methods of satisfying that most fundamental of all human needs, the need for food? This problem, applicable to all primitive races on the cultural level of food-collectors, cannot be discussed here, but it may be pointed out that, once in close touch with higher developed economic systems, the Chenchu does learn to exercise a moderate amount of foresight, although not unnaturally he prefers the care-free, hand to mouth existence of his fathers.

Another aspect of the general lack of vision is the Chenchu's wasteful attitude towards the jungle in which he lives. He will lop off branches in order to pick the ripening fruit in comfort, or fell a tree on which a Malabar squirrel or one of the large arboreal lizards has taken refuge. If he sights a comb in some inaccessible place, he will, if no easier method presents itself, cut down the whole tree in order to take the honey. An important exception to this attitude is the treatment accorded to creepers with edible roots. The Chenchus say, that if they find a climber with particularly prolific roots, they replace the earth after removing the tubers, so that the plant shall not die. Such care is, however, exceptional and is not exercised in the ordinary course of digging up roots.

The absence of concerted action is another important characteristic of Chenchu economics, and one which has surely played as large a part in barring the way to any progress as the lack of planning. Although Chenchus set out in groups of three and four to collect roots or fruits, individuals, working side by side, do not co-operate; each fills a separate basket and each carries his basket back to his own house to be consumed by his own family. Even in hunting, an activity which would seem to offer many opportunities for co-operation, the Chenchu does not resort to concerted action. Driving and beating are unknown and the Chenchu relies entirely on chance and his skill in woodcraft. No doubt this accounts for his limited success and has helped to relegate the chase to its present secondary rôle in the quest for food. We have shown in the previous chapter, how in certain phases of house-building the co-operation of at least two persons is necessary, but it must be remembered that houses of the permanent and more elaborate type are admittedly of recent intro-

duction and this example does not, therefore, disprove our argument. Scarcity of ritual, which occupies such a prominent place in the economic activities of other primitive peoples, is perhaps due to this lack of co-operative effort. For among the more developed primitive societies the main function of ritual connected with hunting, fishing, the sowing and harvesting of crops, and the building of canoes, is the bond it creates between those partaking in the enterprise, a function which would seem entirely aimless in the absence of any co-ordinated effort.

The only division of labour in Chenchu society is that between the sexes, and even this is less marked than among many other primitive races. The collection of the majority of foodstuffs during the various seasons is effected by both men and women, there being no distinction in the method employed. Certain other activities, however, such as hunting, honey-taking and basket-making are exclusively male, while women prepare most of the food. Yet, even household duties may fall to the lot of man, who occasionally undertakes tasks which generally belong to the domain of woman. The sexes are, as in most primitive societies, largely dependent on each other, and the fate of the lone man or woman is not enviable, though perhaps widows find a solitary life less uncomfortable than the single man.

Although a certain measure of barter and trade must have been maintained with outsiders for some considerable time, it is significant that Chenchus never barter among themselves. Economically perhaps more than socially, the family is a self-contained unit and save in cases of illness or accident, when help is readily forthcoming from all members of the local group, the Chenchu family is able to obtain all the necessities of life through the efforts of its own members. Once more exceptions are provided by activities of recent introduction, and a man owning cattle will borrow a bull to cover his cows, or a mill-stone will be lent to one lucky enough to have acquired some grain. No payment is demanded for such services, which fall under the head of general helpfulness among villagers. But however great this helpfulness may seem, we must realize that it is not economic co-operation in the full sense of the word; it is not based on a definite system of rights and obligations and is, so to say, accidental and not institutional.

This complete lack of the institutional factor in economic activities may perhaps baffle the student of human society, who is accustomed to think of primitive economics woven within a net-work of reciprocal social obligations, ritual, and tribal lore, but when we discuss the social structure, it will become evident that the economic independence of the individual family is correlated to its status as a self-contained social entity, free at any time to sever its connection with the village group. It is abortive to question whether the individualistic

trend in Chenchu economics is responsible for the absence of a rigidly organised social unit larger than the family, or vice versa; the interdependence between economics and social organisation is obvious.



FIG. 48. *Chenchu bow-man.*



F.G. 40. Spreading out the fruits of *Buchanania latifolia* to ripen in the sun.



CHAPTER VII

FOOD COLLECTING

THE majority of the Chenchus living on the upper plateau subsist almost entirely on the wild fruits, plants and roots which they collect in the forests, and the daily task of gathering these products eclipses all other means of income. It is the digging-stick and the collecting basket on which the Chenchu relies for the bulk of his food supply.

Edible fruits and plants and roots vary with the seasons and while there are times when it is comparatively easy for the Chenchu to collect an ample supply of food, there are others when he has to struggle hard to find sufficient to eat, and many are the days when he goes to sleep on an unsatisfied stomach.

Generally all Chenchus but the small children set off on their daily food-gathering excursions with their digging-sticks and their collecting baskets about three hours after sunrise. Picking their way through the forest, they go in twos, threes and even fours to those parts of the forest where they expect to find edible roots or fruits. Husband and wife, particularly in the first years of marriage, sometimes go root collecting together, but more often the sexes separate and there is a definite tendency to seek companions of the same age for the day's work. Towards evening they return to the village, but whereas women are nearly always back in the village at dusk, men sometimes make two-day excursions to far-away collecting grounds, camping in the jungle overnight and only returning home the following evening. But from such excursions they do not return with large quantities of roots, for they consume most of the produce which they collect while away from home. Indeed these expeditions are not designed to yield an exceptional harvest, nor to provide a feast for household or village, but are undertaken for the sole purpose of exploiting some distant corner of the village land.

The mainstay of Chenchu diet consists of the edible roots or more precisely tubers of various creepers and plants, some of which thrive all the year round in most parts of the Chenchu country, while others can only be collected in certain seasons or in special localities. The most important of these tubers is *nalla gadda*,¹ the prolific tuberous growth of

1. Unfortunately it was not possible to identify the various tubers and herbs consumed by the Chenchu, and I am therefore referring to them under their local names. The following list of various items of diet is, moreover, by no means exhaustive, for the Chenchus are incapable of enumerating all that they eat, and actual observation was confined to seven months.

a large-leaved, yellow-flowered plant. It comes into season at the end of the cold weather and lasts without interruption till the beginning of the rains, and in February and March there are times when the Chenchu subsists almost entirely on this tuber, which tastes rather like potatoes. *Eravala gadda* and *nula gadda*, the tubers of two varieties of yam-like creepers with heart shaped leaves, are collected at all times of the year except during the rainy season when the tubers grow sodden and decay in the damp earth. *Chenchu gadda* is also the root of a climber; growing perpendicularly in the soil for two to three feet, it entails so much hard labour to dig up that it is generally men who unearth this particular variety. It may be collected throughout the year, but the Chenchus eat it most during the rains when other roots are scarce, though it is said to be most tasty during the hot season. *Donda gadda* is another tuber of a large-leaved rambling creeper, which may be collected at all seasons, while its seeds ripening in June are eaten raw; but *donda gadda* is not very plentiful on the top of the plateau, and favours the lower valleys. *Samakurra gadda* is the round bulbous root of a small plant which sprouts during the monsoon so that by the end of the rains it can be collected in large quantities; its pods maturing in the autumn are boiled whole and the seeds which are said to be very satisfying are extracted and eaten. Ultimately there is *gita gadda*, which though gregarious is only eaten in times of emergency, for its consumption is followed by acute indigestion.

When digging for tubers the Chenchu sits on the ground usually with one leg outstretched and the other crooked and drawn up, the outer knee lying on the ground, while the digging-stick is operated with both hands. Men, however, sometimes squat when digging for roots bringing their whole weight to bear at each thrust. The digging-stick is used to remove the stones and the bulk of the earth, but when the first hairy fibres appear the Chenchu uses his hands to scratch away the last covering of earth in order not to damage the tubers with the sharp iron point. In deciding where to dig the Chenchu looks for the stems and leaves of creeper or plant and traces them to their source; there he clears a small space and starts digging. But during the hot season all greenery withers and undergrowth is destroyed by forest fires, so that, deprived of these outward signs, he finds it difficult to locate the tubers and a search of many hours yields often only a few handfuls of roots. All tubers are eaten roasted in ashes or boiled in water.

At certain times of the year the ripening of various fruits breaks the monotony of the tuber diet, but the individual species last but a short while and within a few days the Chenchu falls back on filling but not exactly tasty roots. In January he collects the large brown velvety pods of *Bauhinia Vahlii*, the most abundant climber on the plateau, and roasts or boils the green seeds, which though they are

slightly bitter, have not an unpleasant taste even to those unaccustomed to Chenchu fare. During the same month he gathers the fruits of *Tamarindus indica* while the pulp is still juicy and these are stringed in much the same manner as french beans, dipped in ash to mitigate the acidity and eaten raw. Tamarind pods continue to play a fairly important part in Chenchu diet until the end of February.

The last weeks of February and the first of March are otherwise a poor time for fruit and roots. In some localities the Chenchus pick the unripe berries of *Buchanania latifolia* and, cracking the shells of the stone, extract the kernels which at this time of the year are the only edible portion. The Chenchus whom I found camping on the Kistna River had nothing to eat but these small nuts and the powdered bones of a deer; it was the middle of March and they complained that for days they had been unable to find any roots, although the yield of the valley had been good on their arrival two months previously.

Towards the end of March, however, food gathering possibilities improve, the Chenchus collect the first tender green blossoms of a tree locally known as *mirikai*, which chopped and boiled, and mixed with curd when available, they find most palatable. Soon the fruit of *Ficus infectoria* ripens and at the end of the same month the red figs of *Ficus glomerata* come into season. The Chenchus of Boramacheruvu, where I stayed at that time, made a dash for the fig trees with the first greying of dawn, each anxious to be the first to arrive and to secure the most and best of the windfalls. Unhappily, they explained, the trunks of the fig trees were infested with red ants, and thus they were forced to wait till the figs fell to the ground. During the days of the fig harvest they sat in the village most of the morning eating their fill of the over-ripe fruit, and cutting the rest into half and drying it in the sun to preserve it till evening. Another edible fruit ripening in March and April is that of *Diospyros melanoxylon*.

At the same time the first corollæ of *Bassia latifolia*, the mohua tree, fall to the ground and thus begins the mohua flower season so eagerly awaited by all Chenchus. In the preceding weeks the tall grass under the trees has been fired and the fleshy white corollæ which litter the charred ground during the next two months are easy to collect. In most Chenchu villages the greater part of the harvest is boiled and eaten at once, constituting a most nourishing article of diet, while only a smaller portion is set aside each day by the individual families for the distillation of liquor. The Chenchus sometimes boil the leaves of *Erythroxylon monogynum* with the mohua flowers and their slightly bitter taste probably counteracts the sickly sweetness of the mohua.

Used as food the flower is eaten fresh, but when intended for liquor it is dried in the sun for several days until it turns a deep gold, when it is soaked in water for twenty-four hours and allowed to

ferment. Sometimes the bark and seeds of a tree which the Chenchus call *karkachakka* are mixed with the dried flower in order to precipitate fermentation.

The apparatus for distilling liquor is fairly complicated (Fig. 61). The fermenting flowers are placed in a huge pot over a fire, a smaller pot being inverted over the mouth to trap the rising steam and force it to escape through a bamboo culm about thirty inches long, which, inserted in a hole in the side of the large pot, forms a sloping conduit to a smaller pot resting on the ground some distance away, where condensation takes place. It is important that all cracks are sealed with wet earth and that the bamboo conduit and the smaller pot are wrapped in rags so that they may be kept cool with water. Mohua liquor is very potent and is generally drunk while still warm, but before a wedding or other ceremony Chenchus usually make a pot or two in advance.

The mohua flower season lasts through April and May. The same months see the ripening of the fruit of *Buchanania latifolia* and the Chenchus eat the pleasant sweet flavoured pulp as well as the kernels already mentioned. The kernels, which taste very much like pistachio nuts, are sometimes removed from the pulp and cracked one by one, but often whole berries are squashed between stones and the resulting mash of kernel, shell, and pulp eaten raw. The fruit of *Buchanania angustifolia*, which is very similar but larger berried than *Buchanania latifolia* is also consumed by the Chenchus, but it is not very plentiful on the plateau. In gathering fruit of this kind the Chenchus usually climb the trees, denuding all branches within reach and eating the fruit while still in the trees, but they use sticks to beat outlying branches so that the fruit falls to the ground where it is eaten immediately by children and old people squatting below or collected in baskets and taken home to the village. A more wasteful method, but one typical of Chenchu mentality, is the lopping off of the fruit-bearing branches so that the berries may be collected at leisure. In Pulajelma the women have learnt to use the *doti kata* which is a long bamboo with a small forked twig bound to the end so as to form a hook. They are becoming too lazy to climb the trees or perhaps too respectable and have therefore adopted this method of the plains people.

It is also during May that wild mangoes and the fruits of *Ficus bengalensis* come into season, and thus the Chenchu enjoys an abundance of food at this time of the year. The result of this time of plenty on the appearance of the Chenchu is most striking; men and women put on weight, and faces, which in the cold weather have a lean and hungry look, become plump and scarcely recognisable.

The season of mohua flowers and *Buchanania* berries comes to an end, however, in the second half of May and so the Chenchu reverts once more largely to his diet of tubers, several kinds of which are parti-

cularly tasty in the time between the first showers of May and the breaking of the monsoon. Moreover there are the first tender tamarind leaves which are boiled and eaten and the figs of *Ficus bengalensis*, which ripening gradually, last till late in June. The last of the main fruit trees to come into season is *Eugenia jambolana*, whose oblong black berries have a very pleasant taste and are collected in enormous quantities when they ripen at the end of June.

With the breaking of the monsoon, numerous herbs spring up all over the forest. Many of them are eaten by the Chenchu and I have myself welcomed them as a substitute for vegetables just as I learnt to appreciate *nallagadda* in the place of potatoes. Among the herbs that are most frequently eaten are *dogal kura*, *pauli kura*, *banka kura*, *bodumala kura* and *sher kura*. Sometimes several varieties of herbs are mixed, but the Chenchus really prefer boiling and eating one kind at a time; they seldom have salt or spices for flavouring.

During the later part of the rains these herbs and some varieties of roots form the backbone of the Chenchu's food and on days of heavy rain storms, when he cannot dig for roots, a few herbs collected near his house are successful in staving off hunger.

From the end of the rains till about January the forest seems to provide little else but tubers, and it is probably then that the menu of the Chenchu is most monotonous.

At certain times of the year the Chenchu is able to supplement his diet with the honey of wild bees to which he is very partial. In all matters relating to food the Chenchu is a keen observer and he knows that the best and thickest honey comes from the flowers of *Boswellia serrata* and *Albizia procera*, all other kinds are, he says, rather thin.

To collect the honey of rock bees who build their combs on the face of the cliffs in such places as the Kistna gorge or the valley of the Dindi requires much skill and courage, and the Chenchu never sets out alone on such honey-taking expeditions, but in small parties of two and three. Long ropes are used to scale the cliff face to reach the combs, which are generally situated in the curve of an overhanging ledge, and these ropes are secured to a tree on the cliff top to be watched over by a brother-in-law or a son-in-law, relations in whom a man is said to be able to put more trust than in his own kinsmen.

A twigged bamboo is first secured to the end of a stout fibre rope (cf. p. 34), which is then let down over the side of the cliff; the honey-taker climbs down the rope and standing on the twigged bamboo parallel with the honey-comb lashes himself firmly to the bamboo so that his arms are free for the work in hand. Those on top of the cliff now let down a long cord to which is attached a barbed bamboo spike, and with this in his hand the honey-taker begins working his own rope into a swing, so that it swings back and forth from the cliff

face, until finally the apex of his swing brings him within reach of the comb. Judging his moment he plunges the spiked bamboo deep into the wax and letting go the cord leaves it in the comb, the end being held by the men on the cliff top. Next he takes out a wooden sword and as he swings carves the comb from the rock face, sliding his sword between comb and rock each time he comes within reach, until he succeeds in cutting it away and the whole comb hangs suspended by the forked bamboo spike in mid-air and is hauled up by those on top of the cliff.

Honeycombs are sometimes located on the face of the cliff itself, and then the Chenchu climbs down his rope with his honey basket tied to his hip and a bundle of smouldering leaves on the end of a long stick with which to smoke out the bees. When the comb is deserted the Chenchu carves off the comb with a sweep of his iron knife or a flat wooden baton and carries it up the rope in his honey-basket.

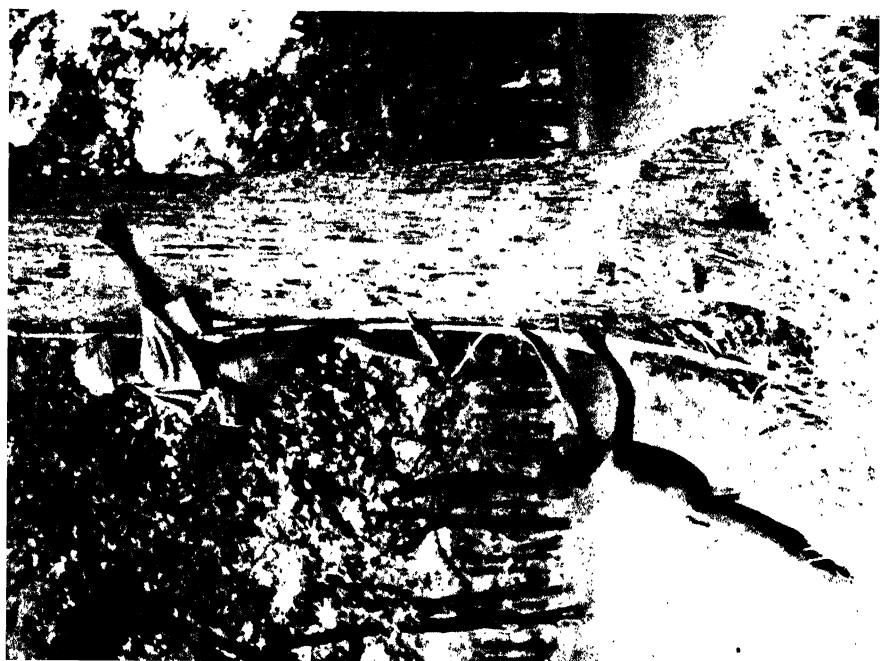
Trees on which combs have been discovered are climbed in the usual way, the bees smoked out as described above, and the comb carved off, but when a comb lies in a hole in the trunk, the Chenchu will put in his hand when he has smoked out the bees and extract the comb in pieces.

Arrows with strings attached are shot into combs that hang in inaccessible places and the Chenchu sits on the ground with a basket between his knees, catching the honey exuding from the pierced wax as it flows down the string. A similar expedient is a bamboo spike (cf. Fig. E, 2), which attached to a strand of creeper is hitched on the end of a long bamboo, by which it is thrust into the comb so that the honey flows down the broad strand of fibre.

Before climbing trees or scaling precipices in search of honey the Chenchus pray for divine protection. They invoke Garelamaisama or Lingamaya (cf. pp. 180-187), and if they are successful, they offer a small piece of a comb to the deity.

Honey is highly valued by the Chenchus, who eat the wax and grubs as well, but it is only collected occasionally and although in olden times it may have played a more important part in their economic life, today it is a minor item in the diet of the Chenchus of the Amrabad Plateau.





CHAPTER VIII

HUNTING AND FISHING

Hunting

TO CLASSIFY the Chenchus of the present day as a "tribe of primitive hunters and food collectors" may give rise to a misconception. For although the men, and especially the young men, often carry their bows and arrows, occasionally even setting out with the definite purpose of hunting, the chase contributes but little to the general supply of food. During the six weeks I stayed in Boramacheruvu the men of the village killed only one deer, and this was shot with a gun, and in spite of the innumerable peacocks and jungle-fowl in the nearby thickets no other game was brought home.

The marksmanship of the Chenchus whom I saw using their bows and arrows was not remarkable, but judging from the stories old men tell of their youth and the fact that despite many vicissitudes the bow and arrow do still survive, it would appear that the Chenchus of past generations were more successful in the pursuit of game. Yet it is probable that Chenchu diet, like that of so many other primitive races of tropical regions, has always been mainly vegetable, only occasionally bettered by the flesh of hunted animals.

Birds and small game like hare, squirrel, and monkey are still shot with bow and arrow, but muzzle-loaders are used for hunting sambhur and deer or very exceptionally bear, panther, and tiger. The times are still remembered, however, when these larger animals too were hunted with bow and arrow and the adequacy of a Chenchu bow in bringing down sambhur and deer is demonstrated by the frequent kills made by the Chenchus of Madras Presidency, who are allowed to hunt freely as long as they use only their bows and arrows.

In search of small game Chenchus carry their bows strung and creep noiselessly through the jungle with bent knees and cautious steps. They are careful that no rustle of leaves or breaking of twigs betrays their approach and as they pass they turn up occasional leaves of the giant creepers on the chance of spotting possible game concealed among the foliage. An animal sighted in the branches of high trees or out of range in dense thicket they chase into the open by hurling sticks and stones until it comes within range of

their arrows, or they will let fly the *kola*, the arrow with a blunt metal head, whose metallic sound on tree bark will scare an animal from its hiding place. When they score a hit, they make a fire in the forest, singe off the animal's fur and roast it whole in its skin, either in the glowing embers or impaled on a short bamboo stick. If a man is alone he may finish the whole animal himself or, eating only the head and legs, take the rest home; several men out together share any prize however small and consume it on the spot.

The customary manner of hunting the larger animals is more difficult to ascertain, for the Chenchus, in attempting to evade the interference of forest officials, observe the greatest possible secrecy, and on the rare occasions when I found them in the possession of venison, they pretended that the deer had been killed by wild dogs, although at least in one of the cases I was certain that the deer had been shot. However, when I had at last allayed their suspicions, they described in broad outlines the methods which they employ in the chase of larger game. They watch an animal's habits and on finding its spoor and knowing where it is accustomed to pass, they erect a small leaf screen and there they lie in wait. When the animal appears they aim at a spot just behind the shoulder, and if they can get a shot at not more than fifteen yards, the point of the arrow should come out of the other side of the animal.

Some idea of the technique of hunting with the gun as practised by the Chenchus south of the Kistna River about two generations ago, can be gathered from an unspecified report quoted by E. Thurston.¹

"The Chenchu is every bit as bad a shot as the average aboriginal. He rarely stalks, but when he does, he makes up by his skill in wood-craft for his inexperience with his gun. He understands the importance of not giving the deer a slant of his wind, and if they catch a glimpse of him, he will stand motionless and black as the tree trunks around. The ambush by the salt lick or waterhole, however, is his favourite method of sport. Here, fortified with a supply of pungent smelling liquor, which he illicitly distils from the mohua flower, he will lie night and day ruthlessly murdering sambhur, spotted deer, nilgai (*Boslephus tragocamelus*), and four horned antelope (*Tetracerus quadricornis*). Tigers often stalk down and drink and roll in the pool, but the Chenchu dares not draw a bead on him. Perhaps the indifference of his shooting, of which he is conscious, deters him."

Larger animals are never carried intact to the village, but are cut up in the jungle, where they have fallen, and a lone hunter leaves his kill and fetches the other men of the village so that together they can skin the animal and divide up the meat. They roast and eat as much

1. Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 35-36.

as they can consume on the spot, and after having gorged their fill they take the rest home to their wives and children. All householders in the village as well as visitors receive a share of the kill, but the man who shot the animal keeps one whole hind leg and the skin which he dries and later uses as a mat. Although meat cooked in the jungle is roasted on an open fire, meat cooked in the village is invariably boiled, but no flavouring is added and nothing is eaten with the flesh of animals. All that cannot be consumed on that day is cut into strips and dried in the sun.

On the spot where the animal fell a small part of the flesh is cut from the carcass, roasted and then offered with a prayer of thanks to Garelamaisama (cf. p. 180) who seems to be the deity most closely connected with the chase.

A man may only hunt in those lands to which he has a right (cf. p. 162). Even today the boundaries of the hunting and collecting grounds belonging to the various villages are nominally respected, but in the old times the least infringement of the boundaries gave rise to inter-village quarrels which sometimes led to bloodshed. When a wounded animal fled across the boundary into the hunting ground of another village, however, the pursuing hunter was entitled to follow and take away his kill.

Bow and gun are not the only means of procuring flesh. Stones are used as missiles to kill squirrels and birds, and sticks to break the back of the Indian monitor,¹ which is hunted mainly in the rainy season when it comes out of its hole and is easy to catch. Chenchus spotting a Malabar squirrel in an isolated tree, will often attempted its capture, even if they have no bows; they surround the tree and pelt the squirrel with stones until it jumps from the branches in an attempt to escape, when the Chenchus set on it and kill it with sticks.

Some men also use dogs to smell out and catch small game particularly the Indian monitor, but once the dog has secured its prey the Chenchu rushes forward and extracts it from the clutches of the dog, who is lucky if he receives the entrails of the animal. No offering is made to Garelamaisama when animals are caught by dogs.²

Chenchus are not particular as to the freshness of meat, and they do not despise the kill of tiger or other beasts of prey. I remember the relish with which some men, women and children camping on the Kistna consumed a piece of very putrescent venison, said to be the

1. *Varanus bengalensis*, Daud.

2. In the article *Seasonal Nomadism and Economics of the Chenchus of Hyderabad* (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VIII, 1941, pp. 175-196) I suggested that the omission of the offering for Garelamaisama may indicate a comparatively recent introduction of the use of hunting dogs, since a new method would naturally be unaccompanied by the old ritual. But in reconsidering the question and taking into account the great importance of hunting dogs among the Veddas, who show so many cultural affinities with the Chenchus (cf. pp. 294-296), I feel inclined to believe that after all hunting dogs may have had a place in ancient Chenchu culture.

kill of wild dogs, and how eagerly they were joined by the Chenchus who had carried my luggage from Boramacheruvu, while to me even the smell coming from the cooking pots was utterly abhorrent.

Wild animals eaten by the Chenchu include sambhur, deer, goat, bear, hare, squirrel, wild cat, porcupine, peacock, jungle-fowl, pigeon, and practically any of the smaller birds which he is fortunate to capture, as well as the Indian monitor. But he does not eat tiger, panther or dog, nor will he touch snakes or frogs.

When the birds nest the boys climb the trees in search of eggs and nestlings, for young birds even if they happen to be young birds of prey are eagerly eaten, but the Chenchu will rarely attempt to shoot grown hawks, kites or vultures. He is also very partial to the grubs of white-ants, which he digs up in the cold weather, considering them a great delicacy, and when the white-ants swarm in May and June he catches them in holes in the ground, and boils or roasts them, consuming everything including the wings.

The absence of any kind of trap or snare is a remarkable deficiency in the Chenchu's technique of securing game. This could hardly be accounted for by a degeneration of culture, which certainly could not have entirely eliminated such an easy and profitable means of obtaining food, and we have therefore to contend with the phenomenon of a primitive jungle tribe unfamiliar with trapping and snaring. The Chenchus have heard of such methods, and say that the plains people know how to trap birds, but that Chenchus are ignorant of such devices.

Hunting as practised now among the Chenchus of the Amrabad Plateau shows evident signs of disintegration. In search of the causes for its relegation to a secondary rôle in Chenchu economics, we are able to discern two factors, which are responsible for this decline. The most decisive of these has undoubtedly been the restriction imposed by the Forest Authorities, who very definitely discourage the shooting of the larger animals.¹ A second factor was the introduction of the gun two or three generations ago; in consequence the Chenchu's skill in handling the bow and arrow rapidly deteriorated, though it was not long before he realized the difficulties of keeping the gun in order and of procuring the cash for the necessary powder. There are many indications, which will be discussed later, that the Chenchus enjoyed a period of unnatural prosperity some sixty or seventy years ago. This boom seems to have occurred when they first began selling large quantities of minor forest products, and were thereby enabled to purchase guns and other novel effects. Once in possession of such a powerful weapon, they neglected their bows and even failed to instruct their sons

1. Since this chapter went to press the policy of the Forest Department towards the Chenchus has been revised; cf. Appendix IX.

in its art. Nowadays, guns have become rare, for many have been sold in times of stress or fallen into disrepair, and the Chenchus never possess enough money to buy new ones or to have the old ones repaired. But the tradition of archery is broken and the present-day Chenchu is no longer as skilled a hunter as his ancestors.

Fishing

There are only a few places where fish are to be found on the plateau and thus the opportunities for fishing are scarce. Many villages such as Pulajelma and Vattellapalli have no river or tank within the boundaries of their land, and the people therefore never go fishing. Those Chenchus, however, who live close to valleys with perennial water occasionally try their luck in the pools, where water stagnates during the dry season. They take the corky bark of *Mundulea suberosa*, pound it, mix it with the red sand of white-ant heaps and scatter it over the surface of the water. The poisonous bark stupefies the fish, which are then easily caught with the hands. This method is only successful in shallow pools where there is no current. One Chenchu told me that he generally fishes in Nulla Vagu, but that once when he was young, he went to the Kistna and tried to poison the fish there; the water, however, was too deep for the poison to take effect and the party returned empty-handed.

The Chenchus have also learnt to catch fish with line and hook, both of which they buy in the plains. Rods are sometimes made of bamboo, and worms or pieces of fruit are used as bait, while the bent quill of a peacock feather acts as float. This manner of fishing is not very popular, however, probably on account of the great patience required in waiting for a bite, and although there are many fair-sized fish in the tank at Boramacheruvu, the men of the village never attempted to catch them during my stay in their village, but a young man from Medimankal visiting Boramacheruvu succeeded in catching a great number.

Women never catch fish, but they will sit looking on, waiting for their share in the catch. Men, however, sometimes go on fishing excursions and are away two or three days, camping in the jungle overnight. When fish are landed, they are rubbed on flat stones until the skin is free of the rough silvery scales; they are then cut open and the guts are removed. A fire is made by the water's edge and a part of the catch roasted on a spit and eaten at once, while the remainder is taken home, where it is cut into pieces and boiled with salt and chillies, if the latter are available. Fish are carried to the village strung by the head on twigs.

In contrast to the offerings made after a successful hunt, no ritual acts of any kind appear to be connected with either method of fishing, and this may be taken as an indication that it does not represent a very important element in Chenchu culture.

CHAPTER IX
DOMESTIC ANIMALS
AND
AGRICULTURE

Domestic Animals

ALL Chenchus agree that their forefathers had no domesticated animals but dogs, and even today the greater part of the Chenchus on the plateau do not possess any other animals. In most villages, however, there are families who own buffaloes, cows or goats,¹ and it appears from the life-stories of many old men and women, that about thirty or forty years ago there was a considerably larger number of cattle in the hands of the Chenchus. They say that the decimation of their stock was effected by the epidemics brought in by the cattle of graziers who annually invade the forest. But though disease undoubtedly did take a great toll, the decline is also largely due to the deterioration of the Chenchus' economic situation, which leads them to sell many of the calves, so that year by year the number of their cattle dwindles instead of increasing. How the Chenchus originally acquired cattle is open to question, but it seems that at the time when they were able to sell large quantities of forest produce on a newly opened market, they began to purchase various kinds of young stock.

The fact that a tribe of food collectors had and still has the desire and the aptitude to keep and breed these animals is noteworthy and shows that under certain circumstances the transition from hunting and collecting to cattle-breeding is easier than from hunting and collecting to agriculture. Although no encouragement has been given to the acquisition of cattle, whereas definite and mostly unsuccessful attempts have been made to settle the Chenchus as cultivators, it is nevertheless understandable that cattle-breeding came to be readily adopted by the Chenchus, for it is fully consistent and even favoured by their nomadic habits, which on the other hand erect unsurmountable barriers in the way of cultivation.

Cattle are kept for milk and for the calves, which always realize a certain amount of grain or cash, but the meat is not eaten, for with

1. Cf. Appendix V, p. 369.

the acquisition of cattle the Chenchu also adopted the prejudice of the Hindu against eating beef. There is in his case no religious reason for this custom, which he probably took over without questioning when he first became acquainted with these animals, but from the diet point of view it is a pity that he forgoes the flesh of his domestic animals, since the restrictions on hunting have curtailed his supply of meat and he is therefore already short of protein. Even old cows who no longer give milk are kept until their death, when they are left where they died to be eaten by vultures.

Buffaloes are as a whole more favoured than oxen, for they seem to be hardier and better fitted to withstand the climate of the plateau, and in most Chenchu villages there are at least three or four buffalo-cows and a few calves. Bulls are lent free of charge to other Chenchus for mating purposes, but for this same service the Chenchu demands payment from plains people and he sometimes hires out his bull in liquidation of a debt.

At night buffaloes and cows are tethered to wooden posts near the house or in the villages built on rock to long poles laid on the ground and well-weighted down with boulders and piles of stones. The ropes are usually fastened to one of the forelegs, and nooses are used for young calves. Cows are milked before the Chenchus set out on their root-gathering excursions and though it is generally the owner's wife who carries out this task, men sometimes milk their own cattle; the milker squats beside the cow, with a small brass pot gripped between the knees, and pulls the udders with both hands. Calves are put to their mothers a few minutes before the milk is drawn to encourage the cow to yield and a small quantity is always left in the udders for the calves to drink. Young boys and girls drive the cattle to graze, keeping an eye on them throughout the day, and it is generally children who tend the calves at midday giving them water and a little dried grass; for as long as they are small, calves are kept tied up well within the village for fear of tiger, panther and hyæna and only later are they allowed to graze with the herd, though even then they often fall victim to beasts of prey. As the sun sets the cattle is driven home to the village, but cows are seldom milked a second time.

Milk is used in various ways. Children are given a small quantity fresh, and the spirit of helpfulness between co-villagers generally prompts a man owning buffaloes or cows to give a little to all the small children of the group. The larger part of the milk is used for making ghee, which, but for a small quantity kept to smooth the hair after washing, is sold to traders in the plains. The butter-milk is allowed to turn to curd, which the Chenchus like to eat mixed with various kinds of food, while the whey is drunk, flavoured with salt whenever available.

The health value of milk for the Chenchus can hardly be exaggerated and it is unfortunate that such a nourishing product as ghee should invariably be sold instead of being consumed by the Chenchus themselves, for when they take their ghee to the market they only bring home a small quantity of millet in exchange.

At present goats are kept only by a few and it is difficult to understand why they are not more popular; for as the Chenchus not only drink goat's milk but eat goat flesh and use the skins as mats, it would seem altogether to their advantage to increase their stock.

Chickens are even more rare, and though the flesh as well as the eggs are eaten, poultry does not seem to make the same appeal to the Chenchu as cattle.

In every Chenchu village there are always a number of dogs, which announce the arrival of any stranger with continual barking and yelping. In the old times, I was told, the Chenchus tamed wild dogs with red hair and black faces which they caught in the jungle as puppies, but today the majority of Chenchu dogs are of the same mongrel breed as those found in the plains and it seems doubtful whether the Chenchus could ever have tamed the wild dog, though they may have had a special domesticated variety of their own.

Dogs are useful in guarding the villages and at night they break into furious barks at the approach of any wild animal. They are useful too in hunting small game, and invaluable as scavengers, for by devouring human excrements and other refuse they keep Chenchu villages tolerably clean. The Chenchu hardly ever feeds his dog, at the most he throws him a few leavings, but puppies are sometimes given a little whey in wooden troughs. As a rule dogs have names such as *Donti* or *Pasapapi*, but I have never heard a Chenchu calling a dog by name; he shouts *kukka* (dog) or more often just *diu* (come) and in the case of a puppy *kukka pilla*.

Although domesticated animals had, with the possible exception of dogs, no place in the Chenchu culture of olden days, they are now well established, and there can be little doubt, that one of the possibilities for an improvement in the Chenchu's economic situation lies in the extension and encouragement of cattle-breeding.

Cultivation

In marked contrast to the Chenchu's aptitude for breeding cattle is his attitude towards cultivation. Attempts to introduce plough-cultivation on the upper plateau have failed almost completely, and even the Village Chenchus near Amrabad, who started to cultivate with Government help some thirty years ago, have now largely given it up and fallen back on coolie work for their sustenance. In Vatellapalli,

where a few households of Waddars were settled with the idea of creating an example and encouraging the Chenchu to till the soil, only one man took to ploughing the land but he is now too old to work and no one else, not even his own son, follows his example. A few other people of Vatellapalli did cultivate for a time, turning up the earth with sticks, but they also abandoned this enterprise some time ago, and now there is no Chenchu in the village who works his own field. In Koman Penta the *peddamanchi* cultivates with a plough and grows *jawar* (*Sorghum vulgare*) and *ragi* (*Eleusine coracana*) ; however he does not do all the work himself but has entered into a kind of partnership with a Moham-medan who comes up from Amrabad every year and shares in the work as well as the yield. The *peddamanchi* complains that none of the younger men show any inclination to work on the fields, and that they all prefer to go to the jungle for roots.

No other cases of Jungle Chenchus embarking on plough-cultivation exist, but during the rains a few men in some villages sow small quantities of *jawar* millet and Indian corn by a more primitive method of agriculture. They choose a flat piece of ground near their settlement, giving preference to places where in the preceding months graziers have herded their cattle at night and the earth is therefore well manured. The soil is cleared of grass and the earth superficially turned over with simple wooden stakes, usually cut and sharpened for the purpose and afterwards discarded. Sometimes broad tapering batons are smoothed and used ; these better finished implements may be kept from one year to another.

Before the plots are sown they are surrounded with wattle fencing to protect them from cattle and wild animals. Seed millet is bought in the plains, but a little Indian corn is usually kept from one year to the other ; among themselves Chenchus seem to be generous in lending their seed grain. When planting the seeds a man moves in a straight line, stopping at every step and making a hole in the ground with his digging-stick (Fig. 52) ; into each hole he drops a few grains and then shovels the earth over it with a sweeping movement of the foot.

Before the seeds are planted the goddess Lachamma is addressed with the following prayer :

Sami amma Lachmi amma manchiga pandete niku baga
 God mother Lachmi mother well ripen to you good
 pettam panda ka pote niku ledu maku ledu
 offer (we will), (if), ripen not properly for you not for us not is.

The idea of this prayer is evidently that if the crop prospers the goddess will receive an offering, while in case of a bad harvest there will be nothing either for her or for the cultivator.

From the time the young plants sprout until the crop ripens, the field is spasmodically weeded and the fence repaired whenever necessary, but the plots are so small that this does not entail much work; it is only the initial labour the Chenchu finds tedious. In Malapur three families worked a field not more than 40 by 20 yards together, while another man had a separate plot at some distance. When asked, why they do not work larger plots, Chenchus usually reply that they get too tired or that they cannot afford to buy more seed. As the Indian corn ripens the owners begin picking off the cobs when they feel hungry, either eating them raw or roasting them over the fire. Only millet is properly harvested and ground in the usual manner.

At the beginning of the harvest a small quantity of grain is cooked and placed for a few minutes in front of the stones sacred to Lachamma, which lie at a small distance from the village; then the following prayer of thanksgiving is said:

Sami talli, Lachamma talli, pandina matuku memu pettenamu,
God mother Lachamma mother ripened so much we offer
dandam.
thanks.

The great advantage of the primitive digging-stick cultivation in the eyes of the Chenchu is its freedom from taxation. For the fact that the Chenchus in Vatellapalli and Koman Penta who took to ploughing had to pay considerable revenue contributed undoubtedly to the unpopularity of this new method.

Near every village is a fenced off patch where tobacco is grown. The seeds, which are usually bought in the plains, are sown in small plots and the seedlings transplanted when a couple of inches high. The leaves are dried on stones and some people keep the seeds for the following year. It appears that not all men of a settlement plant tobacco, but that each year one or two undertake to supply the whole community; the next year the task falls to other men. Like the people of the plains, the Chenchu smokes the tobacco rolled up in the large pliable leaves of *Diospyros melanoxylon* called *bidi*. He always carries a small quantity with him in a leather pouch at his waist, replenishing it from the store which he keeps in a basket in his house.

Tomatoes and chillies are also grown round the houses of some of the permanent villages; Chenchus of one village beg seeds from another, but failing this they buy the seeds in the plains.

Fruit trees, on the other hand, are practically never planted. The only exceptions which came to my notice were one young papaya tree in Nardi Penta, and a few bananas near the spring of Boramacheruvu, which were planted by the father of the present *peddamanchi*. The

bananas, which incidentally are never allowed to ripen, but picked while still green, are shared with evident enjoyment by all the people of the village. Yet it has never occurred to any of the inhabitants to enlarge the grove.

All this would seem to indicate that the present mentality of the Chenchu is definitely ill-suited to agriculture, and it would be misleading to expect a radical change in this situation within one or two generations. For as it will be seen below (cf. p. 315) even in the Kurnool District of Madras, where the Chenchus have been settled in large permanent villages and given all the necessary facilities, only comparatively few Chenchus have taken to cultivation.

CHAPTER X

TRADE, BARTER AND OCCASIONAL LABOUR

BEFORE the Chenchus came in contact with other races of higher developed cultures, trade and barter of any description were probably non-existent. But these times lie far back and for a considerable period the Chenchus must have depended on barter to obtain knives, axe-heads, and iron for arrow tips, which for generations have formed an indispensable part of their equipment. The commodities tendered in exchange for these goods were undoubtedly forest-produce, such as honey, wax and fruits, and sometimes perhaps even venison.

In recent years the Chenchus' demand for 'foreign' goods has increased. The discarding of the leaf-dress of their ancestors has given rise to the need for clothes and, with the adoption of a more settled mode of life, they have learnt to covet such household goods as pots, winnowing fans and mill-stones, all of which must be bought in the plains. Moreover, they have grown to consider rice and millet as the most desirable form of food, and one which today they will go far out of their way to obtain. While the evergrowing contact with outsiders, which followed the opening up of the forest, has stimulated the Chenchus' demand for trade articles, it has proportionately curtailed their ability to provide the necessary goods in exchange. For the exploitation of their land by the Forest Department and by contractors has deprived them of their former monopoly on forest produce at a time when they stood most in need of produce to counterbalance the new requirements. This may explain why every Chenchu asserts that his grandfather was much better off and had excellent opportunities of selling jungle products to plains people, who used to pay very high prices. There are still minor forest products which are sold by the Chenchu such as mohua flowers, *chironji* (the kernels of *Buchanania latifolia*), the fruits of *Terminalia chebula*, honey, the aromatic resin of *Boswellia serrata*, cast-off sambhur horns and bamboo baskets. However he has as a rule no other market than the *banya*¹ of the villages on the edge of the plains, and these take advantage of his simplicity and cheat him in the most unscrupulous manner. Nominally the

1. Merchant, money-lender.

prices which the *banya* offer for forest produce are moderately fair, but they get the better of the Chenchu by selling manufactured goods, such as *sari* and cloths, on long-term credit which is to be paid off by future deliveries of forest produce. Owing to exorbitant interests and the inability of the Chenchu to make any sort of reckoning, he may go on delivering the fruits of his labours for years without succeeding in clearing his debt. Every now and then, when the Chenchu becomes fractious, the *banya* will give him a small quantity of millet, just to keep a hold on him, but the amount is little compared to the real value of the goods supplied by the Chenchu. Although most transactions are calculated in money, even those Chenchus who are not in debt seldom get cash from the *banya*, but are usually paid in kind.

Many Chenchus manufacture baskets for sale. For a large basket they receive about one *seer*¹ of millet and for a small one half a *seer* of millet, which on an average corresponds to a value of between half an anna and two annas. Of the minor forest produce collected for contractors or sold secretly to *banya* the kernels of *Buchanania latifolia* fetch a fairly good price, and the Chenchu, if he can summon enough resolution to collect large amounts without dipping into them to satisfy his own hunger, can dispose of them at a rate of one rupee per *seer* of shelled kernels. Another marketable article is the fruit of *Terminalia chebula*, which gives the black myrabolans used for tanning. These the contractors will buy at a rate of one rupee for two large baskets. The seeds of *Sapindus emarginatus*, the soap-nut tree, are also sold to contractors and *banya* at one anna for three *seer*. But the gathering of these last two products as well as of the leaves of *Diospyros melanoxylon* is no great source of income for the Chenchu, for contractors generally introduce large numbers of plains' people to reap these fruits, and the portion which the Chenchus are able to collect is therefore insignificant. Occasionally the Chenchus collect the resin of *Boswellia serrata* and barter it to the villagers of the plains, who use it as incense, and some men catch young peacocks and parrots, which they sell in bazaars for about four annas each; they say that if they keep and tame these birds they may receive as much as two rupees for a full-grown peacock and one rupee for a parrot.

More lucrative, however, is the sale of mohua flowers, which are valued at one rupee for six *seer*, and the Chenchu is often able to get cash for these by selling them to forest-labourers and plains' people for the illicit distillation of liquor. In order to exploit this opportunity to the full the Chenchus on the edge of the upper plateau hoard the flowers. They dig deep pits in the jungle, fill them with dried mohua flowers and cover them with leaves, thatch and stones. There the flowers are

1. Measure of weight corresponding approximately to 2 lbs.

preserved and the Chenchus can bide their time till they are approached by individuals desirous of arrack and willing to pay a fair price. For a small additional fee on the price of the flowers the Chenchus can sometimes be persuaded to distil for their clients, though in fear of the police they infinitely prefer to sell the flowers outright. As the season advances and the supply of mohua decreases, astute Chenchus are even able to raise the price from six to four *seer* of dried flowers per rupee. This at least is the system evolved by the men of the villages on the Farahabad-Vatellapalli ridge, but they may be particularly shrewd owing to fairly frequent contact with outsiders. It seems doubtful whether the Chenchus on the south-western part of the plateau ever possess enough surplus flowers to pursue such practices, for not only is the locality less fertile, but their own demands on the mohua flowers as food are heavier.

But all these transactions are seasonal and spasmodic sources of income and it is only men owning cattle who have a steady trade with *banya*, for they are able to supply ghee during the greater part of the year. Ghee is valued at about one rupee per *seer*, and one full-grown buffalo-cow will give sufficient milk to accumulate one *seer* of ghee within two or three weeks. When the cows calve, the young stock is often sold, but the Chenchus say that even for a calf a *banya* will seldom give cash, but only millet or other exchange goods to the value of three or at the most four rupees, while if they want to buy a calf, they have to pay about six rupees in cash. A full grown buffalo-cow is worth about thirty rupees, but the Chenchus seldom buy or sell adult buffaloes, though bulls are sometimes disposed of in times of great stress; these do not, however, fetch more than ten rupees.

The goods the Chenchu acquires with what he realises on his collections of forest products and his cattle can be divided into two groups: clothes, household goods, etc., and food. Clothes for himself, his wife and his children, although not plentiful, are a considerable drain on his resources and often involve him in debt. He pays one rupee eight annas to three rupees eight annas for a *sari*, and four to eight annas for a *choli*, while a shirt for himself costs one rupee. From time to time the *banya* come to the hills, travelling from village to village with a selection of clothes, and it is then difficult for the Chenchu to resist the temptation of buying, particularly when offered credit, which he is told can be liquidated by future deliveries of ghee or jungle produce.

Many of the essential implements and household utensils must also be bought from a *banya* or at a bazaar. For an axe-head the Chenchu pays twelve annas to one rupee, for a knife anything between one rupee eight annas and three rupees eight annas according to size and for the iron point of a digging stick eight annas to one rupee; the grinding mills

that have lately come into vogue with the introduction of grain cost from two to three rupees. These are considerable sums for the Chenchu, but fortunately these items of expenditure must only be made once or twice in a lifetime. Pots, however, have often to be replaced; large pots cost four annas and small ones one to two annas.

Moreover there are the food-stuffs which with the infiltration of plains ideas have to be purchased for certain occasions. At weddings, it is now imperative to have rice, chillies, dhal and salt, which cost the bridegroom two or three rupees, and unless the event falls within the mohua flower season he must spend at least two rupees on liquor. In the same way rice and spices are now required for the ceremonies following death and if possible a woman is given rice or millet on the days following confinement.

Apart from these special occasions, for which such foods are now considered necessary, the desire to better his jungle diet with *jawar* or *ragi* is ever present and men going to the plains to sell their produce almost invariably return with at least a small quantity of grain knotted in their cloths. In villages, such as Sarlapalli, Vatellapalli and Pula-jelma, where the Chenchus are frequently in touch with plainsmen and have, therefore, greater opportunities of selling their produce, a considerable amount of grain is consumed, while in the remoter settlements near the Kistna River millet is still a delicacy. Unfortunately, the season which brings the ripening of the majority of fruits and is thus the time when the Chenchu has most to barter, is also the time when he needs least to supplement his jungle diet. But there is, of course, no consideration of storing the grain which he then acquires against times of scarcity.

Labour is only an insignificant source of income. In the dry season and at the beginning of the rains, the Chenchus near the cart-tracks are occasionally recruited by the Forest Department for the demarcation of coupes, the clearing of forest-roads and work in the regeneration plantations, but the daily wages of three-quarters of a *seer* of millet, the equivalent of less than two annas, are not very conducive to develop in the Chenchus an appreciation of labour as a source of income. At present the Chenchus seldom work for contractors, for these are not prepared to pay them the same wages as the labourers from the plains, but expect to get their services for a small remuneration, and this distinction is not unnaturally resented by the Chenchus. During the hot season the men of Sarlapalli, Vatellapalli and Railet graze cattle for plains' people and receive six *seer* of millet per cow per season for their trouble but I could find no trace of like practices in other parts of the plateau.

One of the few opportunities for the Chenchus to 'make money,' that is to acquire cash, is the annual pilgrimage to Sri Sailam. In the

month of March considerable numbers of pilgrims from the plains pass through the forests either by Vatellapalli or Boramacheruvu on their way to the temple at Sri Sailam on the other side of the Kistna River. The Chenchus offer their services as coolies and guides and help the pilgrims in crossing the river. Enterprising men and sometimes whole families will go to Sri Sailam a week or so before the feast and earn wages by erecting shelters for the many thousands of pilgrims that are annually expected. At this time the Chenchu also gets cash for the milk of his buffaloes and cows by selling it to the pilgrims and I know of one man, who moves with his cattle to a place where the pilgrims camp overnight, for the express purpose of making money by the sale of milk.

That Chenchus are, as a rule, not averse to work, provided they are given adequate payment was demonstrated to me by the men of Boramacheruvu, who readily carried my luggage on several strenuous tours. At present, however, the Chenchus of the plateau are not offered any even moderately lucrative employment, and it is surely premature to judge whether they are capable of providing a sufficient amount of forest labour in order to replace that which is now imported from the plains.

A table of the various items of income and expenditure is given in Appendix VI, but it must be borne in mind that no individual Chenchu has ever access to all or even the larger part of the listed sources of income, that many items of expenditure are incurred only once or twice in a life-time, and that few families of Jungle Chenchus taste grain more often than perhaps twelve or fifteen times a year. Even measured against the standard of other aboriginal tribes of the Deccan, the needs and resources of the Chenchu are exceedingly small, and his style of life far lower than that of the poorest Hill Reddi or Gond.

PART III
SOCIAL STRUCTURE

CHAPTER XI

CLANS

THE social organization is perhaps that part of Chenchu culture which has undergone least change through the developments of recent years. Casual contact with outsiders has modified the material culture, and in a superficial manner even influenced religious ideas, but it has left intact the basic principles underlying the structure of Chenchu society. Even the gradual transition from a nomadic to a more or less settled life has not yet produced any revolutionary effects in the social sphere, although it is probable that in the course of time Chenchu society will adapt itself to changing conditions. At present, the social organization of the Chenchus is still representative of those early types of human society found among races who have not yet emerged from the stage of hunting and collecting.

All Chenchus, whether living in the jungles of the Amrabad plateau, in plains villages, or on the southern side of the Kistna River, recognize their unity as a race distinct from the surrounding populations, and in various spheres Chenchus will tender aid free to other Chenchus, while for the same service they demand payment from outsiders. There is, however, no "tribal feeling" in the sense of a common destiny, nor does one section of Chenchus show any solicitude for the well-being or prestige of other groups. This lack of tribal feeling finds expression in the absence of any kind of tribal organization which would co-ordinate the various groups for social, ceremonial or religious purposes. The principal units of Chenchu society are the clan, the local group, and the family, and only when we have established their respective qualities and function, will we be able to recognize its general character.

Often when a Chenchu is asked his name, he gives not only his own personal name, but also that of his *kulam*,¹ i.e., his clan.² It is the same as that of his father and of all his kinsmen on the father's side, while his mother and her relations are members of a different clan; in the choice of a wife, he must observe the laws of clan-exogamy, which forbid him to marry a girl of his own or a related clan. There are few occasions when clan membership determines his behaviour, except in

1. *Kulam* in ordinary Telugu usage means "caste," while the names of exogamous septs are known as *inti perulu* (house names).

2. The clan-name precedes the personal name and thus a man of Tokal clan called Lingaru, is occasionally referred to as Tokal Lingaru. Throughout this monograph, however, the clan-name will be given in brackets after the personal name.

his relations with persons of the opposite sex who are either potential mates or beyond the pale of sexual association.

At present, the following clans are found among the Chenchus of the upper plateau: Menlur, Tokal, Nimal, Sigarlu, Nallapoteru, Eravalu, Pulsaru, Urtalu, Daserolu, Mamedi, Katraj and Balmor. The first seven of these are numerically strong, while the others are represented only by a few individuals. All of these clans occur also among the Village Chenchus near Amrabad, Mananur and Lingal and it is here that the clans, rarely met with on the upper part of the plateau, have a wider distribution.

The clans are exogamous, but they do not all intermarry, for some are considered "related" and are grouped together in larger exogamous units. I do not believe that any Chenchu is able to define the exact composition of these larger units, for although every man is capable of enumerating the clans with which he may intermarry, he becomes vague when discussing the rules regulating the marriages of clans other than his own. Surveying the marriages which have taken place within the last generation, it would seem that the ten clans represented on the upper plateau constitute four exogamous groups, consisting of the following clans:

1. Menlur, Daserolu.
2. Sigarlu, Urtalu.
3. Tokal, Nallapoteru, Katraj.
4. Nimal, Eravalu, Pulsaru.

Before we can discuss the possible origin of these groupings, it is necessary to consider their distribution, and in so doing we cannot entirely restrict ourselves to the Chenchus living in the forests of the upper part of the plateau, but must also refer to those in the villages near Mananur and east of Amrabad, and in the plains round Lingal.

The clans are by no means evenly distributed, but each tract of country is mainly inhabited by one or two clans, although individual families of other clans may live in their midst. Owing to recent changes in the settlements of the Chenchus and the desertion of various village sites on the upper plateau, it is difficult to establish with certainty the original distribution of the clans, but from a census of the present population of all villages (cf. Appendix I) as well as statements on former conditions, corroborated in many places, we may piece together a picture of conditions in earlier times.

It appears that the south-western part of the plateau, comprising the villages of Irla Penta, Medimankal, Boramacheruvu, Appapur, Pullaipalli and Malapur was once the domain of the Nimal people. According to tradition they used to intermarry with the people of Sigarlu clan, inhabiting the neighbouring tract to the east. A long time

ago a man of Tokal clan is said to have come from the southern side of the river and married two sisters of Malapur. From him are supposed to be descended the many Tokal people, now living in Medimankal, Boramacheruvu, Appapur and Pullaipalli. This tradition need not be taken literally, but is probably reminiscent of a time when the Nimai people intermarried frequently with their Tokal neighbours on the other side of the Kistna River. Now the whole tract between the Kistna River to the south, Yemlapaya Vagu to the west and Kaklet Vagu to the east, stretching as far north as Malapur is described as Tokal-Nimal land, and is inhabited mainly by these two intermarrying clans.

Pulajelma, which lies immediately north and has at present a very mixed population, is said to have been the centre of the Eravalu clan, which is now bordering on extinction.

The Sigarlu clan seems to own the ridge of Vatellapalli, Sarlapalli, Timmaredipalli and Patur Bayal. Its members have intermarried mainly with Menlur people from Koman Penta and the now deserted villages of Tatigundal and Elpamachena. The Menlur people, who inhabited the villages on the edge of the higher plateau, but have recently dispersed and moved to villages like Pulajelma, Malapur and Rampur, are found in great number on the lower plateau between Amrabad and the Dindi River and probably this tract was at one time their main stronghold.

Nallapoteru, Daserolu and Urtalu are the predominant clans among the Chenchus near Mananur and Amrabad, although a few individuals live also in villages like Sarlapalli and Railet. All the members of Pulsaru clan at present on the plateau, are descended from one man, who came from the southern side of the Kistna two generations ago, while Katraj, Mamedi and Balmor are clans centred in the plains near Lingal.

Thus it appears that the clans were once regional units and in possession of clearly defined tracts of land, but this system has suffered partial disintegration through the opening up of the forest and the disturbance of the old life by the activities of various outsiders; villages such as Pulajelma, Railet and Sarlapalli have gathered families from various settlements and consequently consist of several clans.

Little indication of the history of the individual clans can be obtained from the Chenchus, nor is it possible to discover the original significance of the present clan-names. There are a few stories, however, concerning the past of certain clans, and although their value as documents is doubtful, they must be taken into consideration when we attempt to explain the distribution as well as the names of the clans.

The Chenchus appear to have no generally accepted traditions relating to the origin of their race,¹ or of humanity in general. If

1. The stories given in Chapter XXV (cf. pp. 203, 204, 226, 227) have not the character of tribal myths whose authenticity is recognised by all Chenchus.

questioned on such matters, they say that they always lived in these jungles and do not know how man came into being. They say, however, that the first people to inhabit these hills were called Iruvalu,¹ and that only later came a people called Kongavalu or "monkey people." When the Kongavalu first arrived in the land, they approached the Iruvalu and asked a girl of them in marriage. This demand was acceded by the Iruvalu, who accordingly betrothed one of their girls to a Kongavalu boy, but since she was still very small she remained in her parents' house. Ten years passed, and the girl matured, but the Kongavalu never came to claim their bride. The Iruvalu regarded this as an insult and in great anger went to the Kongavalu, and reproached them for bespeaking a girl and then never claiming her. In this way a quarrel arose and since in those days the Iruvalu and the Kongavalu were 'strong like gods,' they fought against each other until many people on both sides were killed.

The Kongavalu had a drum, till then unknown to the Iruvalu, and the man who hit it, called Dopuvalu, was cut into two during the fight; they also had a trumpeter, Komuluvalu, and he too was killed.² After the fight had gone on for a long time, a 'big man' of the Iruvalu approached the Kongavalu and offered them a great name in the land if they would stop fighting. So peace was made and after that the Kongavalu people were always called 'Menlur.' In spite of the peace, however, the Kongavalu captured the betrothed girl and cut her in half, taking away the upper part; the lower half turned into stone and is still to be seen near Medimankal.³

This is the story of the Tokal and Nimal people of the Boramacheruvu-Medimankal tract, but a man of Menlur clan from Tirmalapur told me a slightly different version. According to him, the Iruvalu were the forefathers of the Sigarlu people, and when the Kongavalu asked a girl of them in marriage, the Iruvalu, though first acquiescing, later married the girl to another man. Over this defection the quarrel arose, and the Kongavalu cut the girl into two pieces and carried away the head with the upper portion of the body, leaving the legs behind. The Kongavalu were the Menlur people of today and with them fought the people of Silam clan, now only found in the villages between Amrabad and the Dindi River, while the Nimal and Tokal people fought on the side of the Iruvalu.

These traditions, however vague and contradictory in many respects, clarify the situation as regards the first inhabitants of the plateau,

1. *Irulu* means in Telugu "darkness—blackness." It is not unlikely that the name Iruvalu refers to the black skin of the Chenchus, in the same way as suggested by E. Thurston of the Irulas, a jungle tribe in the Nilgiri Hills (op. cit. Vol. II, p. 373).

2. On the path between Boramacheruvu and Medimankal there are two mounds, which are supposed to mark their graves.

3. Two small menhirs, one on either side of the Medimankal-Boramacheruvu path, were pointed out by Chenchus, as being the petrified parts of the unfortunate girl.

who seem to have been the people of Sigarlu, Tokal and Nimal clans, while the Menlur people are immigrants of later date. There was apparently some friction before the present marriage-relations were firmly established, but all clans on this side of the river now recognize the Menlur people as the greatest clan, though curiously enough they are surrounded by no such tradition in Madras Presidency. The Menlur people themselves say that they came originally from Macherla, a place south of the Kistna and settled first at Upnotla, where they are still found in large numbers.

No explanation is given for the name "Menlur" nor does it appear to be connected with any Telugu word, and although the superiority of the Menlur people is generally admitted, it is difficult to say, in what exactly it consists. The members of the clan are certainly not privileged in ordinary daily life, nor do they furnish *peddamanchi* or headman in any particular number. There are indeed only two *peddamanchi* of Menlur clan on the plateau; those of Koman Penta and Pulajelma. It is said, however, that in the rare cases of an assembly of *peddamanchi* they speak first, but considering the intensely democratic character of Chenchu society, I doubt very much whether the voice of a Menlur man carries more weight on account of the reputed status of his clan. In Tirmalapur, a village near Amrabad, I was told that when there is a feast the Menlur people eat and drink first, even a small Menlur boy eating before the old men of other clans. This custom is not observed among the Chenchus on the upper plateau, but its existence in Tirmalapur seems to confirm our opinion that the old domain of the Menlur clan lies to the east in the villages on the lower edge and on the fringe of the upper plateau.

The Menlur people intermarry with all clans, except the Daserolu, which seems to be associated with them in some way. I failed to find any traditions accounting for this link, but I was told in Jangamreddipalli, a village north of Amrabad, where the clan is fairly strong, that when the Menlur people quarrel the Daserolu act as arbitrators, while the Menlur men function in the same way in settling disputes among the Daserolu. The only member of the Daserolu clan on the upper plateau is a woman in Pulajelma, but the clan is well represented in the villages on the lower ledge.

None of the many Sigarlu men, whom I questioned as to the meaning of their clan-name, could give me an answer, nor do they have any tradition as to the origin of their clan. Among the Telugu words which could have any association with the name, is 'siga' (or *sikha*) meaning crest, tuft, or hair-knot on the top of the head. Since the majority of Chenchus wear their hair tied up in a knot. "Sigarlu" may mean "top-knot people," an appellation perhaps given them by neighbours of other race. I offer this suggestion without attributing

to the explanation a very high degree of probability. Gulam Ahmed Khan¹ connects the name Sigarlu with *siggri*, tender edible tamarind leaves, an association which is equally conjectural and, in the absence of any statement from the Sigarlu people themselves, can neither be confirmed nor disproved.

The Urtalu clan, which forms together with the Sigarlu an exogamous unit, is possibly called so after the *urtal*, the squirrel, occurring on the Nallamalai Hills in two varieties, though this suggestion, volunteered by some Tokal people was refuted by the only adult representative of the clan on the upper plateau.

Toka means in Telugu "tail" and the Tokal people themselves give three different explanations for the name of their clan. Some say that the Tokal people used to wear the narrow strip of cloth covering their private parts so long that it hung down at the back like a tail.² Considering the recent introduction of cloth of any description this explanation is not very satisfactory although a strip of bark-fibre or large leaves may have been worn in similar fashion. Other Tokal men say, that there was once a man, who showed a special preference for the tail of every animal killed in the chase, and that he was therefore given the nickname 'tailman,' which name thereafter remained to his descendants.

Another explanation is offered by the following story: 'Once upon a time several brothers, living in one place, owned a number of fruit trees which stood along a path in a long line. Every day the eldest brother sent the younger brothers to guard the fruit against monkeys and birds; each time he sent them out, he said "Take care of my Tokal trees!" (meaning trees standing in a line like a tail). At last the youngest brother became angry and said: "All day long we keep watch over those fruits and everyday you say again and again, look after my fruit trees. I am tired of always hearing the same thing; give me my sister as wife, and I will leave you and go and live in some other place." When the elder brother heard this he also got very angry and answered, "Do as you please, take your sister and go wherever you want!" So the youngest brother married his own sister and left the elder brother; nobody knows what happened to them, but those remaining behind were called Tokal people because they looked after trees growing in a long line like a tail.'³

A similar story given on p. 226 refers also to a long tail-like line of fruit trees as connected with the name Tokal, but it is difficult to say whether the association suggested has any historical foundation, or

1. Census of India, 1931, Vol. XXIII, Part I, p. 270.

2. W. V. Grigson mentions a similar explanation for the name of the Tokalor clan of the Hill Maria. (*The Maria Gonds of Bastar*, London 1938, pp. 69-70).

3. The authenticity of this story seems all the more doubtful since Chenchus are not in the habit of planting fruit-groves.

whether the stories are explanatory legends of recent origin. One point, however, remains clear: the great divergency in the explanations given by various men of the same clan proves that there are no clear cut, generally acknowledged traditions attached to clan-names.

Nallapoteru and Katraj are clans linked with Tokal for purposes of exogamy; no explanation is offered for the latter name, but there are two stories regarding the Nallapoteru clan. According to one it is said, that there was once a man who ate and drank so much that his stomach swelled up like that of an animal, and since at dances he blackened it in Chenchu fashion with charcoal and ashes, he was called by his fellow villagers Nallapoteru, "black animal." The other story refers to a time when the Nallapoteru people used to pray to a god called Manpotu (male deer) and therefore the Sigarlu people, with whom they intermarried, called them at first Manpotu from which Nallapoteru is said to be derived.

The fourth of the principal clans of the upper plateau is Nimal. On more than one occasion, I was told that the name is derived from a lime grove (*nimal chettu*, lime tree) which was inhabited by the ancestors of the clan, but if we consider that no limes grow in the present Chenchu country, we may assume that this interpretation has been suggested to the Chenchus by outsiders who were led by the phonetical similarity. The tract mainly inhabited by the Nimal people abounds with peacocks, and it may be that Nimal is derived from the Telugu word *nemali*, peacock.

One of the sub-clans of Nimal is Eravalu, and in this case there is a definite tradition as to its origin. 'A long time ago there was a man of Nimal clan, who although he looked everywhere, could not find a wife and so at last married his own sister. This incestuous marriage made all his relatives very angry, and when a son was born they refused to recognize him as a clan-member or to accept him into the Nimal clan, but gave him the name Eravalu, after the edible tuber *eravalu gadda*.' This happened in Pulajelma and even now the Eravalu people, who are his descendants, are only to be found in Pulajelma and the neighbouring villages, while distant villages disclaim even knowledge of such a clan. It is said that in the old times all people of Eravalu clan died as soon as their hair turned grey, as punishment for the incestuous act of their ancestors, but now they live as long as other Chenchus. Nimal and Eravalu do not intermarry for they are related clans and should they do so, either husband or wife would meet with an early death.

Pulsaru belongs also to the exogamous unit formed by Nimal and Eravalu. No explanation is offered for the name by any of the clan-members; those in the Amrabad forests are all descended from one man, who came from the country south of the Kistna two generations ago.

With this we have exhausted the list of clans, occurring among the Jungle Chenchus in considerable numbers. Mamedi and Balmor are clans centred in the plains villages near Lingal and have only a handful of representatives on the plateau; when questioned each of them produced different answers as to the laws governing marriage with other clans. There is general agreement that Mamedi is called after the mango (*mamidi*) while Balmor is the name of a plains village and the name may have been adopted by the Chenchus living there.

We have seen that in general the Chenchus themselves are vague as to the origin and the names of their clans, and in this they differ strongly from most tribes with totemistic clans. There is, indeed, no indication that the clan-system of the Chenchus is in any way totemistic. There are no associations of clans with animals or plants, except those extremely hypothetical cases suggested by their present Telugu names, and no food-taboos of a totemistic nature are observed; in fact, there is no differentiation in the diet of the various clans.

The result of our attempts to discover in Chenchu tradition any clue which could throw light on the historical origin of the clans is clearly negative, but they have helped us to realize one important fact: that the Chenchu is really not very interested in his clan. He has no pride of belonging to one particular clan, no desire to prove that his own clan is of nobler origin, or greater antiquity in the land, or in any way superior to other clans.¹ Clan-prestige, so strong a motive to social behaviour of many primitive races, is an empty conception to the Chenchu, who does not consider himself in any way linked with the welfare or the strength of his clan.

We have described the clan as an exogamous unit and with this its main function is already indicated. Every infraction of the law of clan exogamy used to be severely punished and is still considered a grave offence.² Whether dispersed over several villages or inhabiting a limited tract of land, all clan members are debarred from sexual relations of any kind with each other, while together they form a unit *vis-à-vis* the other clans, that large group of potential mates and relations-in-law. All through his life, society is thus divided for the Chenchu in two clearly defined groups: the people of his own and associated clans, with whom no relationship based on marriage can be established, and the people of the other clans, who may become his wives and relations-in-law.

The difference of attitude towards these two groups finds expression in the manner of address; the members of a man's own clan and generation are called brothers and sisters, and those of other clans brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, while corresponding terms for the different

1. The only exception is the traditional superiority of the Menlur clan, which is, however, confined to the Amrabad Plateau.

2. Actual breaches of the exogamy law will be discussed in Chapter XXI (pp. 169 seq.).

generations are formed according to the classificatory relationship system, which will be discussed presently.

We might expect this fundamental position, which is similar among all tribes with clan-exogamy, to create a strong solidarity between the members of the clan and to manifest itself in economic co-operation, whole-hearted and unconditional support against non-members in cases of quarrel, as well as concerted action in matters ceremonial. Yet, in reality little of such behaviour can be discerned among the Chenchus. The economic co-operation between members of one clan is no greater than that among the rest of co-villagers, indeed in one of the few economic activities in which a Chenchu requires help, namely in honey-collecting, he will usually go out with his brother-in-law, and not with a man of his own clan. The support lent by clansmen in a dispute, is at the best moral, and falls definitely short of any close identification. There is no collective action and no collective responsibility in the clan, and Lévy-Bruhl would find it difficult to discover a single example of "group mentality." To the Chenchu it would be incomprehensible that, should a man be unable to pay a fine, the obligation would fall on the shoulders of his clansmen, as is customary in so many primitive societies, for according to his conception of right and wrong every individual is solely responsible for his own actions. In view of this attitude it seems hardly necessary to mention that there is no institution of clan-elders, clan-council, or any other authority to which all the members of a clan submit; nor are there ceremonial occasions, aimed at strengthening clan-solidarity, when all the members of one clan act as a solid unit. Visiting other villages, a man is not offered more hospitality by the people of his own clan than by other friends, nor do clans-people, unless actual blood-relations, grant each other rights of free chase and collection on their land.

It seems, indeed, that except for their exogamous system, none of the attributes which characterize the clans of most savage races are to be found among the Chenchus, and perhaps this may dissuade us from classifying these exogamous sections of Chenchu society with the true 'clans' of other Indian tribes; for everything indicates that, with the possible exception of the lately formed Eravalu clan, the clans of the Chenchus are not "groups of people tracing their descent from a common ancestor," like the clans of so many other primitive peoples, nor are the members of Chenchu clans subject to any common taboos. What is then, may we ask, the origin of the Chenchu clan? I believe that we shall come nearest the truth if we regard them primarily as territorial units. Probably in the old times the individual clans inhabited separate tracts of country and intermarried with their immediate neighbours. We have been able to show that this regional distribution of clans is still noticeable and it seems to be confirmed by a

statement made to me by the *peddamanchi* of Pulajelma, who said that "in the beginning each clan lived in a separate village, and only later by intermarrying and making friends, did the clans mix and now several clans live together in one village." At the time, I did not attribute much importance to this isolated statement, but after investigating the functions of the clans to-day, we find that it tallies with our own deductions of present-day conditions. If our assumption is correct and the clans were originally local units, the clan-exogamy must have been a local exogamy, and we will see presently that a strong tendency for local exogamy still exists.

In Chapter XXX we will discuss the possible explanations for the peculiar manner in which the clan-system stands aloof from the general social order in all respects but that of exogamy. However, before dealing with this problem, we must proceed to the discussion of the other units of Chenchu society.

CHAPTER XII
LOCAL GROUP
AND
VILLAGE COMMUNITY

WHEREVER in a permanent village or in a temporary abode, the Chenchu is almost invariably a member of a community, sharing a common settlement and common collecting grounds. This community which fluctuates throughout the year, swelling and shrinking from season to season, may be aptly termed the "local group," as distinct from the "village-community," although both often coincide. Here we will describe as "local group" those families which settle together at any particular time, while the term "village-community" will be reserved for the sum of individuals whose heritage is common ownership in the tract of land adhering to a permanent settlement.

We have shown in Chapter V how the average Chenchu settlement consists of between three and ten houses, shelters or huts assembled in one place. The families inhabiting such a settlement form the local group, a community whose cohesion, so long as the local group exists, is based on common interests and more or less identical activities. In certain cases, the members have only assembled for the purpose of exploiting one particular kind of fruit or other food-stuff which is found in that locality in great quantities and will disperse as soon as the supply is exhausted.

In daily life, complete equality seems to reign among the members of a group, but close observation leads us to discern two definite classes: those permanent members, born in the locality, who participate in the ownership of the surrounding tract of land, and those individuals whose inclusion is only temporary either as mates or as 'guests' of blood-relations already within the group. Between the two classes there are, however, no discriminating rights on the fruits of the soil and the spoils of the chase in the surrounding country, for those settling in a village are *ipso facto* entitled to the produce of its land.

The structure and changing components of the local group are regulated by no definite rules, and since they are largely dependant on personal inclination, they will be best understood by observing the movements of one particular group over a given period. The village

of Boramacheruvu, where I stayed for a period of six weeks, and which I subsequently revisited early in June, may serve as an example. When I arrived at the beginning of February the Boramacheruvu people were living, not in their permanent houses, which stood on an open slab of rock on the north-west of the tank, but in a small settlement well hidden in the jungle, about half a mile away. At that time, there were also three houses on the top of the hill on the south side of the tank, inhabited by families from Appapur and Irla Penta, who had come to Boramacheruvu for the dry months on account of the ample water-supply. We will call these two settlements the 'jungle settlement' and the 'hill settlement.'

On February 9th the jungle settlement consisted of the following families:—

Yidgaru of Tokal clan, the *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu, married to Lachi (Nimal) from Malapur; they have three living children, Yidgaru (about 12), Guruvi (3), and Lingi (10 months). One daughter died. They lived in a fairly spacious hut made of branches. Yidgaru owns four buffaloes and three calves (cf. Appendix I, p. 337, House 1).

Guruvaru of Nimal clan from Malapur, brother of Lachi, the *peddamanchi*'s wife, who was married to Gengi (+) of Boramacheruvu, the sister of the *peddamanchi*. He has two daughters, Guruvi (14) and Lachi (4). Five sons died as infants. He inhabited a small lean-to leaf-shelter (cf. Appendix I, p. 337, House 4).

Lingaru of Tokal clan, adult but unmarried. He is the offspring of an illegitimate endo-clan union. His mother, Guruvi (Tokal) (+), the sister of the *peddamanchi* is dead, and his father, Gangaru (Tokal), a man of her own clan, lives now in Appapur (cf. Appendix I, p. 339, House 3). Lingaru inhabited the grass hut of Lingaru (Sigaru), who together with his wife and child were in Sri Sailam. (cf. Appendix I, p. 337, House 2).

Gangaru of Tokal clan, the *peddamanchi*'s elder brother's son married to Gengi (Nimal) from Irla Penta. She was first married to Lingaru (Pulsaru) (+) of Appapur, and then to Poteru (Menlur) of Elpamachena, who now lives in Vatellapalli with the father of his first wife (cf. Appendix I, p. 356, House 1, Vatellapalli). Gengi had three children by Poteru and while the first daughter died as an infant the younger children, Anmi (6) and Animigaru (4) lived with Gengi and Gangaru in a grass hut in Boramacheruvu (cf. Appendix I, p. 338, House 5).

The hill-settlement consisted of two families:—

Merkal¹ Guruvaru of Tokal clan, *peddamanchi* of Appapur, married to Poti (Pitavalu) from Sri Sailam, south of the Kistna. He has seven living children: Nagama (16), Nagaru (14), Guruvama (13) who is married to Paparu (Sigarlu) of Sri Sailam, but is not mature, and therefore lives with her parents, Vidama (9), Maligaru (7), Chinna Maligaru (5), Chinna Nagama (2). One son died. Merkal Guruvaru owns three buffaloes and two calves and it is mainly on their account that he comes every year in the hot season to the tank at Boramacheruvu. He is of the same age as Yidgaru, the *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu, although he is the son of the father's brother's son of the *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu (cf. Appendix I, p. 339, Appapur House 1).

Papama of Tokal¹ clan, sister of the *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu and widow of Kanaru (Nimal) from Irla Penta, who died one year ago. She had eleven children of whom the first six died; two daughters, Guruvama and Irama are married to two brothers, Guruvaru and Lingaru (Tokal) of Medimankal (cf. Appendix I, p. 335, Medimankal House 2 and 3); three daughters, Kanama (14), Venkatama (9) and Lingama (6) live with their mother. Papama has three buffaloes and three calves. She lived in a house built for her by sons-in-law (cf. Appendix I, p. 334, Irla Penta House 11).

There was also a broken down house belonging to Lingaru (Tokal), the father's brother's son of Yidgaru the *peddamanchi*, who was spending the hot weather on the banks of the Kistna (cf. p. 63) with his sister, who is married in Irla Penta (cf. Appendix I, p. 334, Irla Penta House 8), Lingaru (Tokal) lives in Boramacheruvu during the rains (cf. Appendix I, p. 338, Boramacheruvu House 6).

At that time the inhabitants of the settlement in the jungle and that on the hill hardly came in touch. Those of the jungle settlement went collecting roots or fruits together, while Papama and Guruvaru of the hill settlement joined on their daily excursions. Even the children of the two settlements did not intermingle in play groups. Despite the fact that Papama is the sister of Yidgaru, the *peddamanchi*, I never saw her in the jungle settlement, where I was camping. Thus the two settlements did not in any way seem to form a community, but existed rather as two separate units.

On February 12th an old woman, Lingama (Sigarlu), the widow of Yidgaru's elder brother, and her daughter, Gengi (Tokal) (13),

1. Merkal (goat) is a nickname dating from the time when Guruvaru tended the goats as a boy.

arrived in the jungle settlement from Appapur, as they said 'to see their relations,' and occupied the empty leaf-shelter of Lingaru (Tokal), who now lived in the grass hut of Lingaru (Sigarlu). At first they were treated as guests and given milk and food, but after a few days, when they decided to prolong their visit, they fetched their own cooking pots from Appapur and were absorbed into the community. They remained members of the jungle settlement till the middle of April.

On February 22nd Vidama (Tokal), the granddaughter of Lingama and grand-niece of the *peddamanchi*, came from Malapur for a stay of three days on her way to Sri Sailam, where she was going to visit her mother.

On February 28th Merkal Guruvaru (Tokal) of the hill-settlement moved with his whole family and his buffaloes to Sangrigundal, for the purpose of selling milk to the pilgrims (cf. p. 83). Papama, who would thus have been left alone on top of the hill, moved therefore down into the jungle settlement, where the men built a leaf-shelter for her and her daughters, between that of her brother Yidgaru, the *peddamanchi*, and that occupied by Lingama her sister-in-law. Although she had scarcely spoken to the people of the jungle settlement as long as she lived on the hill, she was immediately accepted into the community and in the weeks that followed associated particularly with Lingama, going with her to dig roots and to collect wood. Her younger daughters seemed delighted to play with the other children of the jungle settlement and Kanama joined Lingama's daughter Gengi and Guruvi, the daughter of Guruvaru (Nimal), on their daily excursions to the forest. The hill settlement was then deserted.

In the days between March 5th and 10th, the time of the great temple feast at Sri Sailam, there was a fair amount of movement in the village. The four men, Yidgaru, Guruvaru, Lingaru, and Gangaru went to Sri Sailam and found work among the pilgrims and some days later they were followed by Gangaru's wife Gengi, Guruvi, the daughter of Guruvaru and Gengi, the daughter of Lingama, who all stated that they went to Sri Sailam 'to meet some relations.' In the meantime Yidgaru (Nimal) of Appapur (cf. Appendix I, p. 340, Appapur House 4) arrived in Boramacheruvu hoping to pick up a coolie job with passing pilgrims. He stayed one night, but although there were empty huts, he slept in the open, 'because he had no relatives in the village.' Later, three men from Malapur came to visit Boramacheruvu, but when they found that the men were in Sri Sailam, they stayed only one night. While Gangaru and his wife Gengi were away Lachi the wife of the *peddamanchi* took care of Gengi's children, as well as the youngest daughter of her brother Guruvaru, and all these children slept in her hut.

On March 9th and 10th all the men and women returned from Sri Sailam and with them came Lingaru (Sigarlu) with his wife Lingi (Tokal) and their two years' old son Lingaru. Lingaru (Sigarlu) is the son of the *peddamanchi*'s elder sister, who married a man from the other side of the Kistna; Lingaru is married to Lingi (Tokal) of Boramacheruvu, and lives in the village of his wife, which is also that of his mother's brother. Lingi's father, Lingaru (Tokal), who is the father's brother's son of the *peddamanchi* as well as his mother's sister's son, lives on the hill on the south side of the Boramacheruvu tank (cf. Appendix I, p. 338, Boramacheruvu House 6) during the rains. Lingaru (Sigarlu) and his family took possession of their own hut, which till then had been inhabited by the bachelor Lingaru (Tokal), who now, since his own shelter was occupied by Lingama and Gengi, used Guruvaru's shelter, though at night he slept in the open. Together with those returning from Sri Sailam came Papama's daughter Irama and her husband Lingaru (Tokal) of Medimankal who both stayed in Papama's hut for a two days visit.

On March 13th two young men, Lachungaru (Nimal) and Lachungaru (Menlur) from Malapur came again to see the Boramacheruvu men and stayed the night. Next morning Guruvi, the daughter of Guruvaru (Nimal), went with them to Malapur to help in the house of her father's brother's son (cf. Appendix I, p. 348, House 4), whose wife was ill.

On March 22nd Merkal Guruvaru (Tokal) of Appapur returned to the hill settlement from Sangrigundal together with his whole family. Paparu (Sigarlu), his son-in-law, who had joined Guruvaru in Sangrigundal, came with the family to Boramacheruvu in the hopes of persuading his wife Guvurama to come with him to his village on the other side of the river. But Merkal Guruvaru pretended that his daughter was still too young and so after twenty days Paparu went back alone to Sri Sailam. Papama, who could now have returned to her house on the hill, remained in the jungle settlement.

On March 23rd with the blossoming of the mohua flowers, Papama's daughter Irama and her son-in-law Lingaru (Tokal) came again to Boramacheruvu from Medimankal to spend the mohua flower season. They stayed in Papama's hut though they slept in the open at night.

On March 25th Gangaru (Nimal) of Irla Penta (cf. Appendix I, p. 334, Irla Penta House 10) the brother of Papama's late husband and half brother of Gengi, the wife of Gangaru (Tokal) came to stay in the hill settlement, where he repaired and occupied an empty house. He was accompanied by his two wives and seven children, who until then had all stayed in Yemlapaya. On the next day, Yidgaru (Tokal)

and his wife Nagama (Nimal) with their child (cf. Appendix I, p. 336, Medimankal House 5) arrived from Medimankal and built a small grass hut on the hill; Yidgaru is the father's brother's son of Papama but he lives in Medimankal, the village of his wife, where his mother is married to the *peddamanchi*.

Since the mohua flower season had already begun, the inhabitants of the jungle settlement grew restless, and talked of moving back to their permanent village, and on March 27th, in anticipation of this move, Papama returned to her house on the hill, together with her daughters and her son-in-law Lingaru. It was interesting to note that her unmarried daughters, who during the whole period of their stay in the jungle settlement had played with the children of Yidgaru (Tokal), Guruvaru (Nimal), Gengi (Nimal), and Lingama (Sigarlu), going with them every day to pick fruits, and to bathe in the tank, immediately severed the connection with their play-group and associated only with the children of Merkal Guruvaru, who lived next to them on the hill.

On March 30th the people remaining in the jungle settlement made minor repairs to their permanent houses, and transferred most of their pots and belongings; on March 31st they installed themselves in their permanent village. Only Gangaru and Gengi, whose relations with the other members of the groups were momentarily clouded remained in their hut in the jungle settlement. Lingama and Gengi moved up to the permanent village with the others, and since they had no house there, a small hut had to be improvised.

The permanent settlement then consisted of the households of Yidgaru (Tokal), the *peddamanchi*, Lingaru (Sigarlu), Lingaru (Tokal), Guruvaru (Nimal) and Lingama (Sigarlu), and this was the situation when I left Boramacheruvu on April 3rd.

Since there were unusually heavy cloud bursts in April of that year and all the houses of the 'permanent' settlement were in very bad repair, the *peddamanchi* and his group moved back to the jungle settlement about the middle of the month to wait for better weather.

Later in April Lingama and her daughter Gengi went back to Appapur, where, since their house had been burnt down by careless pilgrims, they stayed in the house of Merkal Guruvaru, who was still in Boramacheruvu. By that time, however, it had been arranged that Gengi, even though she was not yet mature, should marry the widower Guruvaru (Nimal). The wedding took place on May 2nd in Boramacheruvu and the men of the village went to fetch the bride and her mother the night before the ceremony. On the morning after the wedding, however, Lingama and Gengi returned to Appapur, while Guruvaru stayed on in Boramacheruvu for a few days. Guruvaru's

own village is Malapur, and originally he had only come to live in Boramacheruvu at the wish of his late wife, who was the sister of the *peddamanchi*. So long as he remained a widower, he had lived in his first wife's village, but on his second marriage he returned to his home village Malapur, where he built a small grass hut for himself and his daughters; after the rains, he said he would build a proper house for his new wife and then fetch Gengi, who was now still too young, and her mother Lingama from Appapur. The reason for his return to Malapur after he had lived for more than fifteen years in Boramacheruvu was somewhat obscure, for no definite reason was given by either Guruvaru or the *peddamanchi*, who both pretended that the suggestion had come from the other.

The families who had assembled in Boramacheruvu during the mohua flower season dispersed again early in May. Papama's daughter and son-in-law as well as Yidgaru (Tokal) with his wife Nagama, and their small child, who had all lived in the hill settlement went back to Medimankal. About May 10th Gangaru (Nimal) with his two wives returned to Yemlapaya, together with his sister Gengi (Nimal) and her husband Gangaru (Tokal), who severed their connection with Boramacheruvu for the time being and built themselves a house in Yemlapaya (cf. p. 257).

The group centred round Yidgaru, the *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu, was now reduced to three households; his own and those of his two sister's sons, Lingaru (Sigaru) and the unmarried Lingaru (Tokal). When I revisited Boramacheruvu on June 2nd, I found these families in a new settlement on the edge of a large clearing about half a mile away from the old permanent village, where they had built solid houses. They declared that they would not return to the old 'permanent' village which they had occupied for the last ten years, for it was too exposed to storms. The site on which they had built their new houses had been inhabited by the villagers of Boramacheruvu in the time of the *peddamanchi*'s father, and the proximity of running water, suggests that it is more favourable than that of the previous village. At the time of my visit a ten year old boy was staying with his brother Lingaru (Sigaru), but I was told that he would return to Sri Sailam, when Lingaru next crossed the river to see his mother. In the hill settlement there were again only the households of Papama and Merkal Guruvaru, and Papama said she would leave for Irla Penta at the next new moon, when Guruvaru would also return to Appapur. Lingaru (Tokal), who had stayed on the Kistna during the hot weather, was then in Malapur, where one of his daughters is married, but it was said that he would return to Boramacheruvu during the rains.¹

1. Later I heard, that Papama decided to stay permanently in Boramacheruvu and moved to the settlement of her brother. Lingaru, however, was still in Malapur at the end of July.

Though the many changes in the composition of the local group of Boramacheruvu may in themselves appear rather confusing, taken as a whole, they elucidate several important factors in Chenchu settlement. The local group as exemplified by the jungle settlement does not constitute a rigid unit, but an elastic grouping capable of the immediate absorption of any individual, or number of individuals, with blood-ties within the group. The families forming the local group are generally blood-relations, kinship in the female weighing equally with that in the male line. At no time during the whole period under review, did any individual not related to one or other of the inhabitants live in the jungle settlement, while Lingama (Sigarlu) and her daughter Gengi, and then Papama, the sister of the *peddamanchi*, were each in turn accepted into the community, in spite of the aloof attitude the latter had maintained towards her brother and his family as long as she lived on the hill.

Although the families of a group are not bound together by any system of definite rights and obligations, each family being free to sever its ties with one group and to join another, there exists between members of a local group a spirit of great mutual helpfulness. Thus, a couple visiting another village for a few days, are sure that their children will be cared for while they are away, and a sick man or woman receives help and food from all the other members of the group, particularly if he has no family of his own. The bachelor Lingaru (Tokal) was repeatedly ill and hardly ever well enough to collect food for himself, but he was looked after by all the villagers, and Guruvi, his mother's sister's daughter cooked for him, while Lachi provided him with milk. Even when the other men received millet for carrying my luggage on tour, they gave a share to Lingaru. Another expression of this assistance between group members is the gifts of milk which people with cattle make to the children of their less fortunate neighbours. Thus the children of Gengi (House 5) regularly received a small quantity of milk from Lachi, the wife of the *peddamanchi* (House 1). However, there is, as already mentioned, little planned economic co-operation and the reason for going by twos and threes to collect roots is not the efficiency it promotes in digging or the enlargement of a common store, but because it produces an opportunity for gossip which relieves the tedium of the work. Children of one settlement form definite play-groups, which seem to be so bounded by locality that, if a family moves but a few furlongs away, the children of the two groups abruptly terminate their connection. This cannot be accounted for by distance, for Chenchu children have no fear of the jungle and sometime during the day they should find it possible to meet their one-time playmates, if they so desired. An example of this attitude is offered by the children

of Papama, when they moved back to the hill settlement, and is further demonstrated in Rampur and Sarlapalli, where there are two and three settlements respectively, the children of which rarely intermingle.

Although individuals join at will any local group where they may have relations, they always remain for certain purposes linked with their home-village, that is the permanent settlement where their parents lived and where they grew up. There they are co-heirs to the land, while a man in his wife's village is only a 'guest,' though no superficial observer would realize the position. Guruvaru, for instance, returned to his home village Malapur, when a second marriage obliterated his connections with his first wife's village. It is probable, that had one of his sons lived and grown up in Boramacheruvu, this son would have become a permanent and fully privileged member of the community of Boramacheruvu, inheriting a right in the land through his mother, and no doubt, had Guruvaru's wife Gengi lived he himself would never have left Boramacheruvu.

It will be seen from the house-lists (Appendix I), that there are village communities which are constituted entirely of members of one clan and their mates, as for instance Irla Penta or Malapur, and others where two or more clans now live side by side. The latter settlements are often arranged in such a way that the houses of related families form separate groups within the village, and in Sarlapalli and Rampur this grouping almost amounts to the constitution of separate communities. The development of such large mixed settlements, as for instance Pulajelma, can in most cases still be reconstructed. It is generally agreed among local Chenchus that Pulajelma was originally a village inhabited solely by people of Eravalu clan, but one generation ago a Menlur man, the father of the present *peddamanchi*, came from Gottipalli, on the other side of the Kistna and married an Eravalu girl, in whose village he settled. He had altogether seven children; two of his three sons again married girls of Eravalu clan, while the third, who suffers from framboesia has remained a bachelor. Of his four daughters one married an Eravalu man, but the other three, failing other Eravalu men of suitable age, married Tokal men of Pullaipalli. One of these Tokal men came to live in his wife's village and the two other Menlur daughters returned with their children to Pulajelma when widowed. The Tokal man in the village has four sons and the two widows have two sons each, and thus it seems probable that the village may become predominantly Tokal in the next generation. Moreover, a few years ago a man of Sigarlu clan married an Eravalu girl and came to live in Pulajelma; recently his father, originally of Vatellapalli, but who had lived lately in Malapur, joined him and built a house for himself and his large family in the village. Thus Pulajelma, which two

generations ago was exclusively Eravalu, has now a mixed population of Eravalu, Menlur, Tokal and Sigarlu people.

With the exception of settlements which have recently experienced a large influx of new-comers, the village community, as distinct from the fluid local group, is the sum of families who hold a tract of land in joint possession, and form practically an exogamous unit. This fact is never actually stated by the Chenchus, who assert that alliances between members of intermarrying clans may be contracted within the village community, but a glance at the village census (Appendix I) will show that marriages between members of the same village community are, except in the large mixed villages, extremely rare.

Thus broadly speaking, the Chenchu is not only under an obligation to seek a marriage-partner outside his own clan, but also outside his own village community, and this confirms us in our belief, that the clans were originally local units, and strengthens the character of Chenchu exogamy as a form of exogamy determined by locality.

We must therefore assume that either the clan was not the original unit exercising ownership rights over the land, or that the matri-local marriage and consequently the succession of rights in the mother's land is a later development. The problem cannot be discussed here, but it will have to be considered in Chapter XXX, when we review the developments and strata in Chenchu culture.

In their present form the local group and village community may be likened to intersecting circles, for most members of a village community are at the same time members of local groups that inhabit the land belonging to that village community. Other members, however, may have joined local groups that live on the land of neighbouring village communities, and their children can under certain circumstances be absorbed into those communities.

The local group, on the other hand, consists of members born to the land as well as those whose status is that of guests, and although often short-lived, it is a very real community, stirring all the primal social impulses which are at the root of community life in every human society.

CHAPTER XIII

FAMILY AND KIN-GROUP

AMONG the social units of Chenchu society the family is the smallest, but it is also the most outstanding and clearly defined.

It is the nucleus of the whole social structure of Chenchu life and the larger units, such as clan, local group, and village-community are but congregations of individual families. In its composition it is more permanent than the local group and in the satisfaction of profound social and biological needs, as well as in the influence it exercises in moulding the individual, it is immensely more powerful than the clan. Alone among the social units it entails division of labour and real economic co-operation. Moreover the Chenchu family provides the only customary opportunity for sex-relations, an aspect in which it differs markedly from that of many other primitive tribes of India.

The great majority of families consist of husband and wife and their unmarried children, for although in the last generation a few men took two or even more wives, there were at the time of my stay only two polygamous marriages among all the four hundred and twenty-six Chenchus on the upper plateau, and in both cases the two wives were sisters.¹ Invariably the members of the normal Chenchu family share one house or shelter, even grown children sleeping in the same house as their parents until marriage, when they leave the family unit to form households of their own; only if the season is unfavourable for house-building will they and their mates spend the first months of marriage under the parents' roof. Thus the Chenchu family constituting a household generally covers two generations; in rare cases an old widowed parent may stay with a married son or daughter, but it is more usual for widows to live in a separate small grass hut close to the house of one of their children.

Husband and wife are for all practical purposes partners with equal rights and their property is jointly owned; nominally, however, everything belongs to the man, except those personal belongings a wife acquired from her parents. This equality of status of husband and wife is strongly emphasized by the concurrence of patrilocal and matrilocal marriage: of 80 married couples recorded in the village census (cf. Appendix I) 52 live in the husband's village and 28 in the wife's village.

1. For the case of a man with four wives of different clan who had died shortly before I visited his village, see p. 142.

But whether a couple resides in the wife's or husband's village, the household is largely a self-sustained unit and economically so independent, that men such as Gangaru (Nimal) of Irla Penta (cf. Appendix I, p. 334, Irla Penta House 10) and Gangaru (Tokal) of Medimankal (cf. Appendix I, p. 335, Medimankal House 1) live at least part of the year with their families in single house settlements far away from the rest of the village community. Owing to the absence of specialization in Chenchu economics the family relies normally on its own members for its supply of food and other necessities, but in times of stress the help of blood relations is sought and as a rule easily forthcoming. Great as is the independence of the individual family, we must avoid the tendency to over-emphasize this aspect, for there are times in the life of practically every family when without the assistance of outsiders its very existence would be endangered. Times of child-birth and the subsequent weeks, when the mother is hampered in the search for food, or the serious illness of either husband or wife are such periods of crisis, and when children are too large to be carried, yet not strong enough to accompany the mother to the jungle, she must depend for their care on older children or some old woman who stays behind in the village while she is away gathering food.

We have in the previous chapter observed some examples of the close bond between blood-relations, and now we must investigate the character of the kin-group, a social unit which runs through both clan and village-community. All men and women able to trace blood-relationship either in the male or the female line consider themselves related, but the dimensions of the kin-group are restricted by the Chenchu's limited power of memory. Many do not even remember the name of their grandfather, while second cousins, unless they happen to live in the same village, may hardly be recognized as such. In general a man considers the brothers and sisters of both parents as relatives as well as their children and grandchildren. The cohesion within this group of blood relations is fairly marked and is strengthened and freshened by frequent visiting.

Blood-relations have a definite preference for dwelling close together and many local groups are made up entirely of blood-relations and their mates. Thus the inhabitants of Malapur, at the time I took the census, consisted of the family of the *peddamanchi*, his daughter and son-in-law, the widow of his elder brother's son and her two sons, who are both married. A few months later Guruvaru, the *peddamanchi*'s father's elder brother's son's son, moved from Boramacheruvu to Malapur.

Chenchus do not like to live where they have no blood-relations and should a man find himself in such a situation owing to the death

of all his relatives in one village, he will leave that settlement and join the village of his wife or that of some other relations.

Widows return frequently to their home-village after bereavement, particularly if none of their married children live in the husband's village. Thus Papama (Tokal) (Irla Penta House 11) settled ultimately in her home-village Boramacheruvu, and her younger sister's daughter Lingi (Sigarlu), who was married to Guruvaru (Tokal) of Bikit Penta (House 1), returned to her parents' house at Sri Sailam after her husband's untimely death. This tendency is supported by the frequent marriages of girls with men of their mother's village, as a result of which the home-village of a widow is in many cases the place where her daughters live. Vidama (Tokal) of Appapur (cf. Appendix I, p. 340, Appapur House 6), for instance, married a man in Medimankal and lived there until his death, when she returned to her home village where her daughter Lingi is married to the step brother of the *peddamanchi* (cf. Appendix I, p. 340, Appapur House 7).

The cohesion of the kinship-group and its tendency to become detached from unrelated families is demonstrated by the composition of the local group during the seasonal migrations described in Chapter V, and by the distribution of houses in the large mixed villages. In Sarlapalli, for instance, there are three separate settlements, each about one furlong from the other. The upper settlement consists of five houses and these are inhabited by: Lingaru (Sigarlu), *peddamanchi* of Sarlapalli, and living with him in the same household his brother's daughter and her husband; Lachungaru (Sigarlu) the *peddamanchi*'s brother's son; Yidgaru (Sigarlu) the son of Lachungaru; Lingaru (Sigarlu), the *peddamanchi*'s father's brother's son; and Pedigaru (Menlur) who is married to a daughter of the *peddamanchi*'s wife by her first husband. The middle settlement is composed of a group of families, which was centred round Papaya of Pulsaru clan from Peddacheruvu south of the Kistna, whose funeral ceremony is described in Chapter XIX (pp. 155-157). The six houses of the settlement are now inhabited by: Lachama (Menlur) the second wife of Papaya and her children; Anama (Sigarlu) third wife of Papaya, whose first husband was Iraya of Nallapoteru clan from Sarlapalli; and three sons and one daughter of Anama and Iraya, who are all married and have houses of their own. These children of Anama from her first husband were brought up by Papaya and although they are not related by blood to his other children, they seem to possess a fairly strong family feeling similar to that of near kinsmen. The third settlement comprises only the two houses of Yelleru (Sigarlu) and his brother's son, Muteru, (Sigarlu), who is married to Vidama (Pulsaru) the brother's daughter of the lately deceased Papaya.

A similar situation is found in Rampur (cf. Appendix I, p. 342)

where there are two settlements, each consisting of one kin-group.

Thus we observe that even within large permanent villages the various kin-groups cluster together, and build their houses at some distance from those of other families. In smaller villages such as Koman Penta, Appapur or Malapur there is also a definite tendency for married children to build houses next to that of their parents, while in settlements of only two or three houses, such as Patur Bayal, Timma-reddipalli, or Bikit Penta, the inhabitants are brother and sister, father and son, or other close blood-relations (cf. Appendix I).

The kinship-ties between different villages are strengthened and perpetuated by the custom of marrying back into the mother's kin and village. If we consider the example of Malapur, the functioning of this custom will become immediately apparent (cf. Appendix I, pp. 347, 348). The *peddamanchi*, Lingaru (Nimal) (cf. Genealogy I), is married to Vidama (Tokal), the sister of Gangaru, *peddamanchi* of Pullaipalli, and his son Lingaru married Gangaru's daughter (cf. Genealogy III). Other marriages within the kin-group are those of Yiradu (Nimal), the *peddamanchi*'s father's brother's son's son, whose mother Vidama (Tokal) was from Boramacheruvu, and who in turn married Gengi (Tokal) of Boramacheruvu, the daughter of his mother's father's brother's son. Vidama's second son, Lachungaru, also found his wife Vidama (Tokal) in his mother's village. If we remember that Guruvaru (Nimal), the *peddamanchi*'s father's brother's son's son, was married to the sister of the *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu, and that Guruvaru's sister Lachi is the latter's wife, we see how closely knit are the kinship relations between Malapur, Boramacheruvu and Pullaipalli. The only outsider in Malapur is Lachungaru of Menlur clan from the deserted village of Elpamachena, who married the daughter of the *peddamanchi*.

Strong as is the cohesion of the kin-group, the obligations between kinsmen are not easily defined and even Chenchus are unable to state exactly what it is that they expect of their blood-relations. Mutual support in quarrels is usually rendered by kinsmen who happen to be at hand, and an individual placed in a difficult position owing to a breach of tribal custom will usually seek shelter in the village of some influential kinsman. Thus Guruvaru (Nimal) of Irla Penta (cf. Appendix I, p. 336, Medimankal, House 7), who shocked public opinion by his incestuous union with his clan sister Yembi (Nimal) of Malapur, did not return to his own village of Irla Penta, where many of his clans' men lived, but moved to Medimankal with his wife and his mother Beyama, who is the sister of Gangaru (Tokal), the *peddamanchi* of Medimankal. Here he was safe from interference since the condonation of his crime by the influential *peddamanchi* rendered improbable any proceedings by people of other villages.

The *esprit de corps* of the local group will tide every Chenchu over short periods of illness or other difficulties, but in cases of prolonged ailing or old age, he will always take refuge in the household of those to whom he is most closely related by blood. It seems that asylum in these cases is never refused, and that the few people who attain old age always find someone to care for them. In like manner the Chenchu considers it his natural duty to bring up the orphaned children of his deceased brothers or sisters, and it appears that such children are reared more often by maternal relatives than by their father's kinsmen. Thus in Pullaipalli the two Nallapoteru brothers, Pedda Bayeru and Chinna Bayeru, were brought up by the sister of their mother, who is the wife of the *peddamanchi* of Pullaipalli, rather than by their father's relations who live in Railet and Sarlapalli. The execution of this duty is perhaps the strongest demonstration of the solidarity of the kin-group and stands in marked contrast to the lack of mutual obligation between clan-members.

Thus we see that the cohesion of the kin-group acts as the principal integrating force of Chenchu society. For in the kin-group the co-operation and mutual loyalty obtaining between members of an individual family has been extended to a wider circle of blood-relations irrespective of proximity or distance of residence. Rooted in the family, the kin-group is permeated by sentiments of permanent common interest, and it is to these sentiments, so conspicuously absent in the clan, that it owes its rôle as the foremost and most vitally functioning of the units composing the tribe's present social pattern. That there is good reason to consider family and kin-group also as the oldest and most fundamental units of Chenchu society will be shown in a later chapter.

CHAPTER XIV

THE RELATIONSHIP SYSTEM

THE relationship-system of the Chenchus is of the classificatory type and is, as we would expect from the uncomplicated kinship organization, of extreme simplicity. To the Chenchu society appears clearly divided into two classes: one consisting of those men called according to age either father, brother or son, and of women addressed respectively as mother, sister or daughter, and another comprising those who, as potential and actual relations by marriage, are addressed as father-in-law, brother-in-law or son-in-law and the corresponding female relatives. Clan-members as well as members of related clans fall within the first group and with these intermarriage is forbidden, while the second class includes not only the wife's clansmen, but the members of all other clans from which mates may be chosen.

That a Chenchu uses the same terms in addressing true brothers and those clansmen with whom no blood-relationship can be traced, does not mean, however, that his attitude to both is identical, nor that confusion exists in his mind as to the actual relationship. There is a great difference between the father and the father's brothers, and even in terms of address a distinction is made; only the father is called *naina*, *aya* or *appa*, while the father's brothers are always addressed as 'big' or 'little' father, *peddaya* or *peddappa* and *chinnaya* or *chinnappa*, according to their respective ages, compared to that of the real father. The same applies to the mother and her sisters. Relative age plays an important rôle in the choice of address; an elder is never called by name, while in speaking to younger persons either the relationship-term or the name may be used. With one important exception there is, however, no difference in address according to the sex of the speaker; a man and a woman address their elder brother or their son-in-law by the same terms. Terms used between relatives of the same generation are never reciprocal, for the younger always addresses the elder by a term different from that by which he is addressed by the elder. The only reciprocal terms occur, as among other primitive people, between grandfather and grandson. The grandfather is addressed and described as *tata*, but sometimes the grandfather uses the same term in addressing his grandson, although the proper term for grandson is *manuvara*; this also applies to the term of address between grandmother and granddaughter.

Husband and wife never address each other by name, nor is it customary for them to use any relationship-term, although a man may occasionally call his wife *portsa* and she may call him *maman*. When speaking of each other they resort to the means of teknonymy. Thus a woman whose son is called Yidga will refer to her husband as 'father of Yidga'; for instance, if the father is in a group some distance away, she will not shout out to him herself, but will ask another woman: 'Please call Yidga's father,' and the other woman will promptly shout the husband's name, or the relationship-term by which she is used to address him. There is, however, no definite taboo on uttering the husband's or wife's name and except in the plains villages my informants never hesitated to give me their mate's name, when I asked for it in compiling genealogies.

As it will be seen from the following enumeration there are only a few relationship-terms, each of which applies to a great number of persons related to the speaker in very different ways.

Tata is the term used for the father's father as well as the mother's father and the two grandfather's of a man's or woman's marriage partner. It is thus one of the few terms under which persons belonging to intermarrying groups are classed together. Moreover, any old man is called *tata* by all those separated from him by two generations, and a young Chenchu meeting a stranger, old enough to be his grandfather, will also address him as such. The attitude towards men addressed as *tata* is one of respect but not of particular privilege. The fact that sometimes an old man calls his grandson *tata* seems indicative of a greater familiarity between grandparents and grandchildren than that between those separated by only one generation, but owing to the paucity of old men I was unable to observe any occurrence proving such an assumption.

Auva is the term for grandmother and corresponds in every respect to the term *tata*.

Aya, *appa*, and *naina*¹ are three synonymous terms for father and are used alternatively, although each child is generally in the habit of calling his father by the same term. In their simple form, these terms are only used for 'own' father, while the father's elder brother is addressed as 'big' father, *peddaya*, *peddappa*, or *peddanaina*, and the father's younger brother as 'little' father, *chinnaya*, *chinnappa*, or *chinnaina*. The same terms are used correspondingly for the mother's sister's husband, and all men of the father's generation belonging to the speaker's exogamous group. The brothers of the father are entitled to a considerable amount of respect, and in the case of the father's death, to as much deference as any Chenchu ever pays to an elder.

1. The word *tandri* for father is only used in addressing gods.

*Amma*¹ is the universal term for mother, and her sisters as well as the wives of all paternal uncles are addressed as *peddamma*, or *chinnamma*, according to their comparative age. The mother's sister seems to have obligations towards her nephews and nieces, which are similar to those of the father's brother, and she will take care of deceased sister's children even where there is an uncle, paternal or maternal. It is noteworthy that the father's sister is not called *amma* but is classed together with the mother's brother's wife and the wife's mother as *atta*.

Mama is the term for the mother's brother, the father's sister's husband, as well as the father-in-law, and the classification of these three different types of relationship by describing them with one term is a clear indication of cross-cousin marriage, which indeed the Chenchu considers as the most natural type of union. Although, in contrast to other primitive societies with matrilineal tendencies, there exist no ceremonial obligations or privileges between maternal uncle and nephew, the relations between them are particularly close. We have seen, how in Boramacheruvu two of the *peddamanchi*'s sister's sons are living in his village in preference to those of their parents; one of them has been brought up by the *peddamanchi*, in spite of the fact that the boy's father is still alive and stays a few miles away in Appapur. This relationship between mother's brother and sister's son is frequently strengthened by the latter marrying the former's daughter; hence the identical term for maternal uncle and father-in-law.

Atta is the term for female relations corresponding to *mama* and is used for the mother's brother's wife, the father's sister and the mother-in-law. When applied to the first and second relations, it is, like *mama*, often preceded by the descriptive attributes *pedda* and *chinna*. Thus the mother's brother's wife will be called *pedda atta*, if her husband is the elder brother of the speaker's mother, and *chinna atta*, if he is younger. The classifying of the father's sister with the mother's brother's wife demonstrates the frequency of sister-exchange marriages, when these two persons are often identical.

Mama as well as *atta* is used in the classificatory sense for all men and women, who stand to the speaker in the relationship of potential parents-in-law, i.e. to all men outside his or her own exogamous group who belong to the generation older than the speaker, which ruling also applies to their wives.

Anna and *tamura*² are the terms for elder and younger brother. These terms are also used for all men of the same exogamous unit who are of the same generation. Thus the father's brother's son, the mother's sister's son, and the husband's sister's husband, are all addressed

1. The Telugu word *talli* for mother is used by Chenchus only in addressing goddesses.

2. The relationship-terms used by the Chenchus, show slight deviations from those correct Telugu; here they are transcribed as pronounced by the Chenchus.

as *anna* or *tamura* according to age. In the case of consanguineous brothers the elder calls the younger by his name, even if the difference in age is small, but classificatory brothers only slightly younger than the speaker are, as a rule, addressed as *tamura*. Women use the same terms as men for their own and classificatory brothers. The bond between the children of one family is naturally close, but though brothers lend each other support in difficulties, they seem to evince no particular desire to live together in one village, indeed it is quite usual that they disperse and live in different settlements. A good example for such an occurrence is afforded by the father of Yidgaru the present *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu (cf. p. 121) and his six brothers. Of these, only Yidgaru's father and two brothers stayed in their home village, while the eldest brother went to live in Pullaipalli, the second in Appapur, the fourth in Medimankal and the sixth in Bikit Penta. Even when two brothers do live in the same village, they often separate for the annual migrations. In Irla Penta there are two pairs of brothers, the *peddamanchi* Guruvaru (Nimal) and his brother Lingaru (cf. Appendix I, pp. 332,333, House 1 and 3) as well as Yiradu and his brother Baligaru (Nimal) (cf. Appendix I, p. 333, House 6 and 7), but during the hot season neither pair lives in the same temporary settlement. Guruvaru, the *peddamanchi* and Baligaru, the brother of Yiradu move to Terkaldari, while Yiradu camps first on the Kistna near Yemlapaya and then in Mudardi Penta and the *peddamanchi*'s younger brother lives most of the year in Nardi Penta or on the Kampu Vagu.

Akka and *chella* are terms for elder and younger sister and their use corresponds in every respect to that of *anna* and *tamura*. Like these terms, they apply also to the father's brother's daughters, the mother's sister's daughters and all classificatory sisters.

Bava and *bamardi* are the terms used for men of the speaker's generation, who stand to him or her in the relation of father's sister's son, mother's brother's son, sister's husband and husband's or wife's brother. Men use these terms moreover for all those men of their own generation who are their potential brothers-in-law, and women for all their potential husbands. Those older than the speaker are addressed as *bava* and those younger as *bamardi* (=*bavamardi*). There exists between brothers-in-law a sentiment of co-operation and mutual helpfulness, which seems more pronounced than that between real brothers. Thus the Chenchus say that it is usual for a man to go collecting honey with his brother-in-law, because in the dangerous climbing of cliffs and precipices, he can rely on his wife's brother's hold on the supporting rope, while he cannot be equally sure of the care his own brother would exercise (cf. 65). This statement should not be taken too literally, for in some villages I was told that all the men go together to collect

honey, irrespective of relationship, yet it cannot be entirely dismissed, as the same specific form of co-operation is reported by Thurston¹ of the Chenchus of Kurnool and strangely enough also of the Yanadis, another jungle tribe in the Nallamalai Hills.² When judging its significance it must be taken into account that owing to the frequency of matrilocal marriage brothers-in-law often reside in the same village and it is, therefore, only natural that a man with no blood-relations of his own at hand should link himself closely with his wife's brother.

Vodana and *mardela* are the corresponding terms used for the father's sister's and the mother's brother's daughters, as well as for the husband's and wife's sisters and all other women outside the speaker's exogamous group and of his or her generation.

In addressing persons one generation younger, the Chenchu uses their personal names or a nickname. He may, however, use alternatively one of the following four relationship terms:

Korku is the term for son, brother's son (if the speaker is a man), sister's son (if the speaker is a woman), the wife's sister's and the husband's brother's son, as well as all males of the speaker's own exogamous group and the next generation younger.

*Bidda*³ is the corresponding term for daughter, etc., but occasionally it is also used as a term of endearment for males.

Aluda or *aludu* is used for son-in-law, the sister's son (if the speaker is a man), the brother's son (if the speaker is a woman), and for the wife's brother's and the husband's sister's son. Moreover it is the term by which all men are addressed who are the potential husbands of the speaker's daughters.

Korela is the corresponding term for daughter-in-law, brother's daughter (if the speaker is a woman), sister's daughters (if the speaker is a man), etc.

No distinction according to clan is made in the description and address of grandchildren. All grandsons are described as *manuvara* and addressed either by this term, by name or by the reciprocal term *tata*; *manuvaral* is the corresponding term for granddaughter.

We have seen that the only relationship terms that vary with the sex of the speaker, are those for persons one generation younger. Thus a man addresses his brother's son as *korku*, and a woman addresses the son of her brother as *aluda*. The reason for this apparent inconsistency lies in the fact that, while a woman is reckoned *vis-à-vis* the persons of her own and the older generation as belonging to the clan into which she was born, her relations to the younger generations are determined

1. E. Thurston, *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 39.

2. E. Thurston, *op. cit.* Vol. VII, p. 430.

3. In correct Telugu 'bidda' means simple "child," while "daughter" is 'koduru'; the latter term however is not used by the Chenchus.

by the clan of her husband, or more precisely the clan of her children. For although we might expect a woman to call her brother's son *korku* (son) actually she calls him *aluda* (son-in-law) whether or no she has a daughter whom he might eventually marry. Husband and wife use thus the same terms in addressing all persons one generation younger, while their manner of address differs when speaking to all persons of equal and senior age.

The relationship system of the Chenchus is as a whole so straightforward that the terms of address between any two relatives should be beyond doubt. In practice, however, we notice that deviations from the correct form are by no means rare, particularly in cases where the mode of address demanded by traceable relationship appears inconsistent with the comparative age of the two relatives concerned. Thus Guruvaru (Nimal) of Boramacheruvu (House 4) and Merkal Guruvaru (Tokal) (Appapur House 1) call each other *mama* although this is ordinarily not a reciprocal term. Merkal Guruvaru (Tokal) is the father's brother's son's son of Guruvaru's (Nimal) wife, and thus one generation junior to Guruvaru (Nimal). While it is, therefore, perfectly correct that Merkal Guruvaru calls Guruvaru (Nimal) *mama*, the latter should call Merkal Guruvaru *aluda*, but since both men are of about equal age, Guruvaru (Nimal) addresses Merkal Guruvaru with the more respectful form *mama*. Guruvaru (Nimal) does, however, address the wife of Merkal Guruvaru as *bidda*. What is still stranger is, that Papama (Tokal) the elder sister of Guruvaru's (Nimal) wife addresses Guruvaru as *tamura* instead of *bamardi*, although she comes of an intermarrying clan, while he addresses her correctly as *vodana*.

A particularly interesting situation, from the point of view of relationship-terms is created by the incestuous endo-clan union of Guruvama, the sister of Yidgaru (Tokal) *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu, and Gangaru (Tokal) of Appapur. The only child of this union, Lingaru (Tokal) was brought up by Yidgaru, his mother's brother. In this case it was not at all certain, by which terms Lingaru should address his various relations, since his descent from his mother demanded a form of address different from that prescribed by his membership of the Tokal clan. The terms which he actually uses constitute a compromise. He calls Yidgaru, his mother's brother *mama* and is called by him *aluda*, although both are Tokal men and Lingaru could never become Yidgaru's son-in-law. Similarly Lingaru addresses Yidgaru's wife as *atta*. Here the descent through the mother proved definitely the stronger influence and overruled the fact that Yidgaru and Lingaru are of the same clan. Yet, Yidgaru's small son, who should logically address Lingaru as *bava*, father's sister's son, calls him *anna*, brother, probably in recognition of their common clan membership. Moreover,

Lingaru calls Papama, his mother's sister, *peddamma*, and her daughters *akka* and *chella*, being addressed by them as *anna* and *tamura*, which has the curious result that Lingaru calls their husbands, who are of his own clan, *bava* and they call him *bamardi*. His mother's brother's daughter Gengi, however, also calls him *anna*, which is correct in so far as the clan is concerned, but not the proper form of address for the father's sister's son, who is a potential husband and should be addressed as *bava*. On the other hand, Lingaru (Tokal) addresses his mother's sister's son Lingaru (Sigarlu), who is of different clan as *anna*, and his wife as *vodana*, although she is of his own clan, and he could never marry her. Here, the remarkable thing is not so much the confusion created by an endo-clan union, unforeseen in the relationship system, but the fact that the descent through the mother appears more potent in establishing the forms of address than the counter influence of the clan-membership, which does not seem strong enough to dissuade Lingaru from addressing men of his own clan as *bava*, a term otherwise reserved for actual or potential brothers-in-law.

The general character of the Chenchus' relationship-system tallies well with the main traits of their social organization and confirms the dominance of the family and kin-group over all the other social units. It must not be forgotten, however, that the Chenchus use the ordinary Telugu terms for most degrees of relationship and we must therefore reckon with the possibility that the present system is not purely Chenchu, but partly influenced by Telugu custom.

CHAPTER XV

PEDDAMANCHI

IN every Chenchu village community there is one man who has a certain prominence in all the community's dealings with outsiders.

He is called *peddamanchi*,¹ "big man," and judging from the statements of Chenchus concerning his function, we may be tempted to describe him as a headman. Those living in a Chenchu settlement, however, will soon realize that the *peddamanchi* has very little authority and is at the most a *primus inter pares*. As a rule, though not always, the *peddamanchi* belongs to the clan with the strongest representation in the village. He is usually an old or middle aged man, but not necessarily the oldest man in the community.

The only privilege the *peddamanchi* seems to enjoy is that of eating and drinking first on ceremonial occasions, such as weddings, or when men gather to discuss some quarrel, but his share in the food and drink is not greater than that of other men. He receives no contribution from the other members of the community, nor is he entitled to any special share in the spoils of the chase.

The duties of the *peddamanchi* are difficult to define. When the whole community makes an offering to a deity it is generally the *peddamanchi* who pronounces the first accompanying prayer, and at the wedding ceremonies he blesses the couple before the relatives. It is also said that when a village is shifted the *peddamanchi* chooses the new site, but his house is not necessarily the first to be built. The shifting of the village is, however, not decreed by the *peddamanchi* alone, but is decided by a consensus of opinion expressed by all the members of the group. When we consider the Chenchus' habit of moving frequently from one place to the other and how on their own initiative they will join now one and now another group, the function of selecting a new village site can hardly be considered important. If the members of a village community quarrel among themselves the *peddamanchi* tries to settle the dispute assisted by those men not involved, but in how far he succeeds depends on his personal authority and his sound judgment. The *peddamanchi* of villages where the community consists almost entirely of near relations, such as sons, sons-in-law, or brother's sons, will naturally command a fair amount of authority, while in villages

1. In literary Telugu *peddamanshi* means gentleman, but here again I have transcribed the pronunciation of the Chenchus, which is harder than that of the Telugu people.

comprising several kin-groups the influence of the *peddamanchi* is comparatively small. As the situation stands at present, *peddamanchi* have no power to punish or fine any member of their community, and although some *peddamanchi* pretend that their predecessors possessed the power to impose such measures, I am rather inclined to believe that even one or two generations ago the *peddamanchi* were but the spokesmen of the village. The fact that any member is free to leave his own community and join another local group whenever he so desires, and is thereby enabled to evade any action contemplated against him by the *peddamanchi* of his own village, very definitely limits any authority a *peddamanchi* might possess. There are *peddamanchi*, as for instance Lingaru (Menlur) of Pulajelma, who tried to make me believe that their power is considerable, but others, and these were in the great majority, frankly admitted that the *peddamanchi* have no actual authority and that they are only called "big men" because they are sensible men of personal prestige. In their use of the term *peddamanchi* the Chenchus are themselves not even consistent; they employ it in the sense of village 'headman' as well as for influential old men of a community, but for convenience we will continue to use it only in the sense of 'headman.'

Although several quarrels occurred during the time which I spent among the Chenchus no concrete case of a *peddamanchi* taking action came to my notice. I was repeatedly assured, however, that in disputes involving members of two communities the respective *peddamanchi* as well as *peddamanchi* from neighbouring villages come together and decide the issue (cf. Chapter XXI, p. 168). But closer investigation into the composition of these assemblies suggests that they are attended not only by *peddamanchi*, 'headmen,' but by most of the older men of the kin-groups involved in the dispute, though in a serious quarrel one of the disputing parties may call a *peddamanchi* of personal prestige from a village not directly concerned in the dispute to lend extra weight to his cause, and the prospect of a feast with rice and liquor is usually sufficient to assure acceptance of the invitation. Councils of *peddamanchi* and elders certainly do not meet to discuss every breach of custom and law, but only assemble when an aggrieved party is influential enough to bring about such intervention. When an endo-clan marriage, which is discussed on pp. 169-171, roused great indignation among the Chenchus, it was said that undoubtedly the *peddamanchi* would assemble and take severe action against the culprits, but to my great surprise nothing of the kind took place and later I found the couple living peacefully under the very eye of the *peddamanchi* of Medi-mankal.

At first sight, we might be tempted to believe that the institution of *peddamanchi* had once played a more important rôle in Chenchu

society and that it has now fallen into a state of decay. Closer observation, however, leads us to the contrary conclusion and reveals the institution of *peddamanchi* as one of recent development, bolstered by outside influence. In order to solve this problem, and to ascertain the basis of the office, if such it may be called, it will be necessary to discuss the question of succession and the position of some of the individual men now holding the office of *peddamanchi*.

When questioned as to the succession of the *peddamanchi*, most Chenchus will state that a *peddamanchi* is always succeeded in office by his eldest son. But given time to reflect and if confronted with specific and individual cases, they will admit that this rule is by no means always followed, and that any sensible man may become *peddamanchi*, even if the deceased holder of the office has a son. When a boy is too young to succeed his father, the *peddamanchi*'s younger brother may assume the dignity and it is then doubtful whether the office will ever revert to the line of the elder brother; nor is it invariably the eldest son who succeeds the father, for he may have already relinquished his claim by settling in another village. Since no real advantages are attached to the office of *peddamanchi*, there is little jealousy over the succession and a few examples from the families of the present *peddamanchi* will demonstrate the lack of hard and fast rules in regard to the succession and the many apparent irregularities which are difficult to explain.

The present *peddamanchi* of Irla Penta, Guruvaru (Nimal), is a middle-aged man, whose father was also *peddamanchi*. But that father was the youngest of three brothers, and although the eldest brother has two sons, who also live in Irla Penta, neither became *peddamanchi*.

A particularly baffling situation exists in the four villages Boramacheruvu, Medimankal, Appapur, and Pullaipalli. The *peddamanchi* of these villages are all descended from one man, Guruvaru (Tokal) (cf. Genealogy III), who was *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu two generations ago. He had seven sons and of these only three remained in Boramacheruvu. The eldest son married two sisters of Malapur and founded the village of Pullaipalli; later he married three more wives and had numerous children. Naturally he was the *peddamanchi* of the new settlement and one of his sons now holds the position in Pullaipalli. The second son of Guruvaru of Boramacheruvu went to Appapur, where he too became *peddamanchi*. His son's son, Merkal Guruvaru, is now *peddamanchi* of Appapur, though strangely enough he lives more than half of the year in Boramacheruvu. He says that the Appapur people call him if there is anything of importance to be discussed. The third of the seven brothers stayed in Boramacheruvu, but the fourth Lingaru, married as his second wife a Nimal girl of Medimankal and went to

live in her village. Until then Medimankal seems to have been a pure Nimal village and it is curious that Lingaru not only succeeded in being recognized as *peddamanchi*, but that on his death his son Gangaru became *peddamanchi* of Medimankal, which is now predominantly Tokal. Thus the four Tokal brothers were simultaneously *peddamanchi* in four villages, and this is all the more remarkable since tradition tells that the whole ridge which their villages occupy was once Nimal land, and that the Tokal men immigrated from the southern side of the Kistna.

In Malapur the *peddamanchi* is of Nimal clan and claims that his ancestors have held this dignity for a long time. His father's elder brother was *peddamanchi* before him, but he succeeded in the office, in the face of the existence of sons of his predecessor.

The situation in Pulajelma (see p. 105) is entirely a typical. This was originally a village of the Eravalu clan. The father of the present *peddamanchi* was a Menlur man from Gottipalli, who on marrying an Eravalu girl from Pulajelma came to live in his wife's village. After some time, all the older men having died, he became *peddamanchi* and was succeeded by his son, who again married an Eravalu girl from Pulajelma.

Similarly some decades ago a man of Pulsaru clan, who had immigrated from Peddacheruvu on the other side of the Kistna, became *peddamanchi* of Vatellapalli, but he was not succeeded by his sons, who went to live in Sarlapalli and Appapur.

These few examples may suffice to show that the succession of the *peddamanchi* is not determined by definite rules, and confirm the Chenchus' statements that any man of personal influence and ability may hold the office, even if he is only linked to the locality through marriage or through maternal descent. No proper election seems to take place by the other members of the community, but recognition of a man as spokesman for the village appears to be gradual. The attitude towards *peddamanchi* is illustrated by the remark of a man from Rampur, who said: "We are all young men in our village, so we have no *peddamanchi*." But when I actually went to Rampur a middle aged man was pointed out as *peddamanchi*, although he is perhaps not recognized by all of the rather mixed population of the village.

Considering the degree of uncertainty attached to the succession of *peddamanchi* as well their lack of prominence at functions, we may well conclude that the institution is not deeply rooted in Chenchu culture. I am inclined to believe, that the office has only assumed its present form with the advent of foreigners in the forests, who naturally demanded that every village should have a spokesman through whom it was possible to deal with the whole community. It

was probably only then that the Chenchus, who had hitherto lived in small nomadic groups, began to build larger settlements with permanent houses, and it is easily understandable that the men most capable in dealing with outsiders gained influence and prestige, and were described as 'big men.' This would also explain how two or three generations ago men from the country south of the Kistna could become *peddamanchi* on the Amrabad Plateau. For in Madras Presidency the Chenchus' seclusion had ended earlier and a knowledge of the plainsmen's ways and manners seems to have enabled the immigrants to take a lead in the first trade contacts of the Hyderabad Chenchus. As spokesmen of their communities the *peddamanchi* must also have profited most from the boom in the sale of forest produce, which followed the opening up of the forest (cf. p. 73) and were enabled to purchase buffaloes and cattle, thus still furthering their aggrandisement. And even today it is the descendants of the early *peddamanchi* who own most of the buffaloes and cows, and all of them tell of their fathers' and grandfathers' greater wealth and influence.

There must, of course, always have existed men of personal influence who were the natural leaders of the various local groups, and in the frequent quarrels over the infringement of boundaries or breaches of tribal law, the older men of two or more groups must have gathered to discuss and decide the dispute. The *peddamanchi*, once they had gained prestige through successful dealings with outsiders, easily assumed a prominent part in any such councils, but it seems highly improbable that there was ever an assembly composed only of *peddamanchi*. In their few ceremonial functions, however, they stepped into the rôle, which of old had been played by the oldest or most respected man of the group.

Chenchu society is, like that of practically all the most primitive races, intensely democratic, and although the *peddamanchi* is now the first man in the village his authority and influence depend entirely on his own character and abilities. This was demonstrated to me, when I asked why Nalla Lingaru of Vatellapalli, although not the son of the former *peddamanchi*, had succeeded in the office. The Chenchus' answer was that he became *peddamanchi*, "because he is a man of strong mind, and is feared like a tiger."

PART IV.
THE PHASES OF LIFE



CHAPTER XVI

CHILDHOOD

CHENCHU children have no world of their own like the children of more advanced races. From the moment they have gained proficiency in the mastery of their own body, they follow a routine closely resembling that of their parents, and by the unconscious process of imitation they soon assimilate the pattern of adult life. Thus the children of a Chenchu village are not a separate body, excluded from the occupations of the grown up men and women and immersed in interests of their own, but form from an early age part of the general social fabric. There are no boys' and girls' dormitories where the children lead a community-life of their own uninfluenced by the supervision of adults as among the Muria Gonds, no age-groups which develop special bonds between those of equal age and counteract the claims of the family as in Naga society, none of the untrammelled and irresponsible existence of children who are not expected to do even the slightest work till they grow up as among the Manus of the Admiralty Islands. For long before the Chenchu child reaches maturity he has already adopted most of the ways and habits of his elders and is taking his share in the all-important quest for food.

Though Chenchus are most affectionate parents and take a great interest in their children they seldom know their age unless a child is very young, and if questioned they will give the age by referring to some event coinciding with the time of the child's birth, such as the death of a near relative, or the shifting of the village: that was when the child was born. Talking of a deceased child, a mother will describe its age, by saying that it died 'when it sat up,' or 'when it walked,' or 'when it began to talk,' or by comparing it to one of the children present.

Chenchu babies have no regular times for feeding or sleeping. They have only to cry and the mother raises the corner of her *choli* and puts the nipple in the child's mouth. But if the mother is away or cannot answer the first cry then an older child is deputed to stop the crying. This it does by trying to make more noise than the squalling infant, rattling a finger in its mouth or shouting at the top of its voice; curiously this counter-noise does seem to quell an infant's cry momentarily, but no sooner does the youngster pause for breath than the baby sets up another howl. Entirely breast-fed for the first months children are not systematically weaned. In the seventh or eighth month the milk diet

is sometimes supplemented with a little millet when this is available, or some squashed fruit pulp, but there is no weaning ceremony, and many children occasionally take milk from their mothers until they are six or seven. A mother will wash her baby every evening with warm water, wedging it between outstretched legs as she sits on the ground, and splashing the warm water amply over the child's body, rubbing it all over and stretching its arms outwards and inwards to expand its chest, and making its small fists touch the forehead and chin. After the bath she blows down each ear in turn and washes the child's gums with her forefinger. When a child is three or four years old, it begins to wash itself, taking small pots of water outside the house, or bathing in pools or streams. At the age of two a child's head, which until then is generally covered with short dark curls, is shaved for the first time. These shavings are wrapped in a small piece of cloth, together with some coins and thrown into running water with a short prayer to the water goddess Gangamma (cf. p. 192), but no care is taken over the subsequent shavings of hair.

As long as children cannot walk they are constantly in the mother's arms, straddled on her hip, while she does the household work or cradled on her knees, while she sits with her back in the sun gossiping with other women; and when she gathers roots in the vicinity of the village she will take the child with her; holding it in the crook of one knee, she will dig up roots over its sleeping form. Fetching water from the spring, carrying in grass for the buffaloes, or bringing home firewood for the cooking of the evening meal, however, she must leave the child in the village, sometimes in the care of an older child, who delights in fondling it, or with the father who likes to nurse his offspring even of the tenderest age.

The time when the child first begins to walk and thus gains a certain amount of independence is the most trying for the parents. For until then it has been used to the undivided attention of the mother; but having become too heavy to be constantly carried about, it is now often left alone and protests against such neglect by storms of tears and yells. It is during this period that the affection that the child has until now reserved for the mother is extended to the father, for when the woman is busy with household tasks the father is generally at leisure and he will often stop his gossip to pick up a howling infant and humour him till he stops crying.

But in a community in which each individual is so largely dependent on himself, this period of temper and sulks soon passes. The Chenchu child in fact soon learns to take his place in the local group and once he can walk sturdily on his own legs, he becomes quickly emancipated from the mother and joins others of his age in their daily activities. All day long while the elders are away in search of food and



FIG. 54. *Lingi of Tokal clan with her small daughter.*



FIG. 55. *Children on the banks of the Kistna.*



FIG. 56. *Propitiating a minor deity with offerings of rice and dhal.*



FIG. 57. *Ceremony at the burning ground during the funeral feast.*

the village is deserted except for the calves, the children play among the houses and nearby trees. Most of the time is spent in the imitation of the tasks of adult everyday life, for although there are a few games and dances these are mostly recreations for older girls and the small children find it more exciting to play at life itself; indeed so nearly do the children imitate the doings of their elders that it is hard to tell exactly when the period of play ceases and real work begins. For four and five-year-olds already begin digging for roots, roasting their finds on small fires and preparing their own snacks to stave off hunger till the evening and their parents' return, while in the fruit season they collect windfalls or the berries which a boy already capable of climbing trees will beat down from the branches, and in the hot season they break the shells of *Buchanania latifolia* between stones, scooping out the kernels with their little bone knives.

Like adults, children divide into small groups for all their occupations, usually according to age and sex, though an older child will occasionally act as leader. In Boramacheruvu there were at times three little girls between the ages of four and five, a boy of four and, vacillating between these and the elder children Anmi, the seven-year old daughter of Gengi. The little girls were untiring in digging up roots, sometimes with Anmi, but often alone, while Anmi's small brother a quiet and solemn boy, somehow failed to adapt himself to girl's company and was usually left out. In Pulajelma, on the other hand, there were many small boys and they went shooting with miniature bows and arrows, or climbed trees in search of birds' eggs and nestlings which they immediately consumed, or joined the older boys in tending the cattle.

At midday when the sun grows hot, the children abandon the environs of the village for the shade of large trees, where low hanging creepers make delightful swings, or wander further afield to sit on the cool stones by the spring. In Boramacheruvu the children used to go to the tank in the long hot afternoons and splash in the water; the older girls and Yidgaru, the son of the *peddamanchi* were expert swimmers and would take high leaps from the steep bank, swim ten yards under water and emerge laughing and shouting. When exhausted they sat on the dam and spent the rest of the afternoon chatting and playing with leaf-cups, making mud-pies in the likeness of cooked millet, or tearing the large red flowers of *Bombax malabaricum*, then blossoming, into strips to represent venison, which they hung on branches to dry in the sun in the same manner as meat.

So simple is the Chenchus' routine, that little actual instruction is required to make a child proficient in all the daily tasks, and it seems that the smaller children learn more from older playmates than from their parents. Economic life is too exacting to allow parents much

opportunity to teach their children, and we would be wrong in imagining that a woman sets out to collect roots accompanied by her small daughter or a man by his sons with a view to initiating them into the work. Neither man nor woman can afford to be hampered by children, who are more liable to fatigue, when the family's only solid meal depends on their capability to bring home sufficient roots, often from collecting grounds many miles distant. They are sure that their children's own efforts will in time afford them the experience necessary for their later life, and it is not until a boy is half-grown that his father or elder brother, or his brother-in-law, takes him hunting or honey-taking: the only arts which need practice under expert guidance. Girls on the other hand participate at an early age in all works in the house and in tending younger brothers and sisters, and Anmi of Boramacheruvu, for instance, the seven-year old daughter of Gengi, was quite able to look after her four-year old brother, sweep the hut, and keep it in order, fetch wood and water and cook while her mother was away at the bazaar; at night, however, she and her brother went to sleep in one of the other shelters.

There is little conscious disciplining of children, but by entrusting them with small tasks at an early age, and constantly demanding their help in the daily household routine, parents educate their children to a sense of responsibility and co-operation. As a rule children do all that they are asked and more, eagerly and willingly; and in carrying out the biddings of their elders, they feel important and active members of the little community. It seems that parents have perfect faith that in all essential matters their orders will be obeyed and I noticed that in a camp on the Kistna river, where the children were left alone all day on the sun-baked rocks with a warning not to bathe in the river, none approached the water during their parents absence. Unruly or naughty children above the age of two are rare and I have never seen a child of five, six or seven flying into a fit of temper *vis-à-vis* an adult or clamouring in a tiresome way for anything he wanted. Conversely parents are generally gentle and patient with their children. If a child is careless, knocks over a pot or is impatient for his food, he may receive a slight slap, but premeditated punishment is hardly ever applied. The only child I ever saw defying a parent in a passive and sullen way was Guruvaru's daughter Guruvu, who was then bordering on maturity, and having no mother had grown so independent, that on occasions she refused to listen to her father, who philosophically shrugged his shoulders and let her have her way.

Among themselves Chenchu children are extraordinarily good-natured and though sometimes boisterous and high spirited they hardly ever seem to quarrel. In all the six weeks we lived in the summer-camp of Boramacheruvu I saw not a single instance of bad temper or open

discord among the children, and this in spite of the changing composition of the play groups. The only exception to the rule were the small boys of Yidgaru of Pulajelma, who were definitely overbearing and aggressive, and this was probably due to the unusual position of their father, who as the watchman of the Forest Bungalow and regular guide of all visitors had an exalted idea of his own importance and who seems to have instilled a similar feeling of superiority into his sons.

Although even the small children have a tendency to separate in play and work groups according to sex, there is no taboo which compels boys and girls of any age to avoid each other's company. On the contrary the half grown children of both sexes associate freely together, and even cross-cousins destined by their parents to marry show no embarrassment in each others presence.

No systematic education is given to children, but by being daily in the company of adults and listening to their conversation a child soon grasps the main facts of life. For in Chenchu culture there are few subjects beyond the comprehension of a child of eight or ten, and when a boy or girl reaches maturity there is little left to be learnt. No complicated ritual, no magical formulæ, and no lengthy songs have to be committed to memory by the average Chenchu, no elaborate etiquette requires the mastery of an intricate system of rank and kinship-relations and of social taboos. The simple and straightforward kinship-system presents no difficulties and even small children address each other by the correct terms, probably not so much because they understand their relationship, but because in a community of five or six families it is easy to learn how to address each individual. The only subjects which make demands on the memory are the long stories, but only a few men are able to tell these, and no Chenchu is thought the worse of for not being able to contribute in this manner to his companions' entertainment.

Questions of right and wrong are soon understood by the reactions of the adults to individual cases, for in a society so poor in diversions from the monotonous daily routine, every unusual event, be it a mere quarrel between men or the abduction of a wife, is endlessly discussed over the fires in the long evenings. Experience and wisdom come, of course, only with age, but the facts are known to all, and I remember well, how once when the talk was about the morals of the unmarried girls during the frivolous days of the mohua flower season, a thirteen year old boy kept on chipping in with apt remarks which showed that he knew hardly less about the ways of women than his middle-aged father.

CHAPTER XVII

MARRIAGE AND SEX

UNTIL boys and girls attain maturity their parents give little thought as to whom they will marry. Sometimes, however, it happens that even before a girl matures her father contemplates marrying her to the son of a sister, if their ages seem suitable, but the usual attitude of parents is expressed in the words which were repeated to me time and again: "We do not know whom our daughter will marry, but if any young man asks for her and we like him, we will give her."

Young girls are fairly independent and through frequent visiting of relatives in the various neighbouring villages, they are acquainted with most of the boys who may become their husbands. No ceremony marks the first menstruation, but the news that a girl has matured and is therefore eligible is soon known in all the settlements of the vicinity. Although when together in public adolescent girls and boys maintain a certain reserve, there is plenty of opportunity for clandestine meetings in the jungle and many girls have premarital sex-experience. I found the Chenchus, in contrast to other primitive tribes of India, reticent in discussing matters of sex and my information on the more intimate details of the love life of the unmarried is therefore scanty. Prenuptial adventures are certainly not encouraged by a girl's parents and the elders of the community, but no pressure is exerted to prevent those girls who do not marry immediately after puberty from associating with young men. Promiscuity, however, draws adverse comment and if a man wants to marry a girl reputed to be unusually liberal with her favours, his friends may warn him of her fickle nature; but my informants thought that if he had set his heart on the girl, he would make light of their warnings and insist on marrying her.

Guruvaru of Boramacheruvu, usually a reliable informant, told me that an unmarried girl who finds herself with child will try to procure abortion: she will visit the village of an intimate girl friend where she will take some kind of medicine and return home only when she has recovered. A girl is never reproached for such action and her parents do their best to hush up the affair lest the girl has difficulties in finding a husband. Guruvaru did not know what medicine was used to procure abortion and when I tried to obtain a confirmation of his statement from Vidama of Malapur, who is skilled in midwifery, she disclaimed all

knowledge of such practices; however, I have reason to mistrust her sincerity on this point. She and the majority of my informants agreed that a pregnant girl exposes the name of her lover, who is then compelled to take her into his house even if he is already married.

Love-making among the unmarried is most frequent during the mohua flower season when both boys and girls are merry with liquor. The young people, I was told, are generally cautious enough to avoid detection, but lovers caught *in flagranti* are abused by their elders and then a drinking party may break up in shouting and quarrelling. Afterwards, however, there is little difficulty in settling the incident and usually the couple is married without much delay. Trouble arises only if the lovers belong to the same clan and are therefore debarred from marrying; then both run the risk of being fined or beaten.

From the young people themselves I learnt next to nothing of their emotional reactions to sex and marriage, and all my attempts to turn the conversation on these subjects were conspicuous failures (cf. p. 23). We must therefore fall back on observable facts and occurrences to gain some idea of their intimate lives. If we were to believe the statements of the older men and women, all marriages would be arranged by the parents or relations and the young people themselves would have hardly any say in the matter. But there is in primitive as well as in civilized society a far cry between theory and practice and young people do not always comply with the wishes of parents. It was in Boramacheruvu soon after my arrival, that I had the first inkling of this discrepancy. I was talking to the old Lingama about marriage customs, and she pretended that if a girl does not want to marry the man chosen by her parents, she is beaten into submission. But Gengi, an energetic young woman with a fairly eventful past, at once protested: "No, no, that is not true, if the girl does not want, they will not marry." Gengi seemed to be supported by the young girls present, whereupon Lingama admitted that in reality this was so.

The truth lies probably between the two extremes. Nowadays many girls are married before they can really have made up their minds whom they would like as a husband, but older girls express very definite views and usually get their own way. We will see presently that even in the extreme case of a couple living together in defiance of the laws of clan-exogamy, their behaviour is ultimately condoned.

Before we turn to the customs and ceremonies which surround the conclusion of marriages, we must review once more the laws of exogamy regulating the Chenchus' marriage relations. We have shown in Chapter XI that the clans are exogamous and that certain clans do not intermarry because they are considered 'related.' All girls of a man's own as well as of associated clans are therefore excluded from the ranks of potential marriage partners, and there is moreover, a strong prejudice against marrying within the village community. Young men told me:

"We do not like to marry the girls with whom we have grown up; if we want to find a wife we go to another village." This attitude is understandable when we realize that the children of a Chenchu settlement grow up together like the brothers and sisters of one family. They know each other so intimately that even when they attain maturity, they find none of the attraction in each other that the novel contact with a less familiar member of the opposite sex holds for the young boy or girl. In spite of this preference for mates from other villages exceptions to the rule of local exogamy are found in the larger villages such as Pulajelma, where the children of recent immigrants marry sons or daughters of the original inhabitants.

The relationship-terms have already shown us that cross-cousins are predestined marriage-partners, and a great many Chenchus do indeed marry back into their mother's family. There is no obligation whatsoever for a young man to marry the daughter of his mother's brother or his father's sister, but if there are girls of suitable age standing to him in this relationship, such a marriage is the obvious and easiest way of finding a wife, and one which is favoured by the parents of both parties. Another type of marriage frequent among Chenchus is that with a sister's husband's sister. As a rule, however, there is no formal agreement to exchange sisters, but if other factors are favourable one marriage follows the other as a natural consequence. Although there is a definite preference for marrying girls from families related either by blood or previous alliance, theoretically a man may marry any Chenchu girl however distant her home village provided she is not of his own exogamous unit. Thus some men are married to girls from villages on the other side of the Kistna river, and though such unions are definitely in the minority, once marriage relations have been established, the way is open for other unions between the same families. However, it is far more common for a Chenchu to find a marriage partner in a neighbouring village.

The preliminary steps to marriage are not rigidly prescribed by custom, but one method of approach is now considered by parents as the way 'how it should be done,' and elderly Chenchus, questioned as to the manner in which marriages are arranged, invariably quote this method. They explain that when a boy 'begins to grow a moustache' his parents look for a suitable girl; 'we know where the girls are and we go and see.' With this end in view they visit the girl's village and approach her parents, asking them whether they are willing to give the girl to their son. This approach is not accompanied by any ceremonies or feasting, nor are presents exchanged between the two families, and in many cases this discussion may not lead to marriage, but if an agreement is reached and the girl is already mature, the marriage takes place almost immediately. Sometimes the initiative comes from the

parents of the girl and although this course seems to be less common, the procedure adopted in such cases is more or less the same. Occasionally the matter is talked over with the older men of the respective villages, but the final word remains with the parents. Such is the official view, according to which the young man and the girl have little influence on the choice of the marriage-partner and are supposed to abide by their parents' decision.

In reality, however, the young people are generally consulted and indeed it is often the boy who presses his parents to seek the girl of his choice. If a girl or a boy has any objection to marrying the proposed partner the plan is seldom carried further, although a father or mother may try persuasion to bring about a marriage they favour. It does undoubtedly happen that a boy or more frequently a girl is coaxed into a marriage against his wish, but then trouble generally results after the wedding when he or she refuses to live with the mate chosen by the parents. Some young men of Pulajelma told me that they really did not take much interest in the selection of a bride, for they knew their parents would choose a nice girl, but I wonder whether these statements did not only reflect the official theory, which in this village is particularly strong owing to closer contact with the Hindus of the plains.

In their ideas and demands on female attractiveness and the qualities which their bride should possess, Chenchus are probably less differentiated than more highly civilized people, but events tend to show that they too have very pronounced predilections and antipathies, and that they will undergo a considerable amount of difficulty and inconvenience in order to follow the trend of their hearts. It is indeed in those cases where the young people take the initiative that marriages are brought about in a manner quite different from that now considered correct by the elder members of the community.

We have mentioned already that a boy has ample opportunity during frequent visits from village to village to meet most of the girls who are his potential mates. If he falls in love and his affection is returned, he will either ask his father to talk to the girl's parents or he will approach them himself. Whenever possible he is certain to enlist the help of his parents, for it is usually they who have to find the money for the wedding expenses. If the parents sponsor his choice and the prospective parents-in-law do not raise any objection, events take their prescribed course and the marriage is soon an accomplished fact.

The 'proper' ceremonies are performed only in those cases where both families welcome the marriage, and it will therefore be convenient to describe them now before we deal with the other methods of concluding a marriage.

Once an agreement has been reached between all the parties con-

cerned, the young man or his parents begin to collect the money necessary for the wedding feast. There is no formal engagement ceremony nor does the mere agreement to enter at some future date into a marriage constitute a binding obligation. Both parties are still free to change their minds without incurring any liability.

For the Chenchu, who has very little opportunity of earning cash, the collection of money for a marriage is often a serious problem. The cost of a wedding celebrated by a feast for the two kin-groups is seldom less than five and often amounts to as much as ten rupees. For the bridegroom must present the bride with a *sari* and *choli*, and in addition he must give a *choli* to his future mother-in-law. Moreover he has to buy at least two rupees worth of rice as well as spices and, if the wedding does not fall within the mohua season when home-made liquor is available, one or two rupees must be spent on liquor. Men who own buffaloes may sell a calf to pay for their son's wedding, but it is more usual to take credit from a *banya* and it may be years before the debt and the rapidly accruing interest are repaid.

Unfortunately I never witnessed a wedding ceremony, but from the accounts of my informants it appears that the procedure is roughly as follows.

Once the *sari* and the *choli* have been purchased by the bridegroom or his father, the family of the bride is informed and a day is fixed for the event. Then the nearest blood-relations of both parties are invited to attend the wedding, and the bridegroom or some men of his family go to the nearest bazaar and buy the necessary provisions.

On the wedding day the bridegroom, his relatives and the *peddamanchi* of his village set out with the presents for the bride and her mother, a quantity of rice and spices and several bottles of liquor. In the bride's village they are welcomed by her family and all sit down in the open. The bridegroom then hands over a *sari* and a *choli* for the bride and a *choli* for her mother. The bride's mother or any other elderly woman dresses the bride in her new *sari*, and sometimes a few teak-leaves are tied to her hips and breasts. The tying of leaves was mentioned only by a few of my informants, while others disclaimed all knowledge of the custom, which is apparently rapidly disappearing. Then the bride is made to sit on a mat beside the bridegroom and the *peddamanchi* of their respective villages ask both bridegroom and bride, whether they are willing to become husband and wife. I was told that the bride sometimes refuses to answer in the affirmative, but that she is then usually persuaded by her relatives and the *peddamanchi*. Finally the end of the bride's *sari* is tied to the *gosh batta* of the bridegroom and first the *peddamanchi* and then the relatives bless the couple and shower them with rice. Liquor is handed round and the food, which the bridegroom's people have brought is prepared. If the bride's parents are

prosperous they may also contribute to the feast, but theirs is in any case the smaller share. Eating and drinking continue until late at night, and when all are slightly intoxicated they begin to dance. The newly married couple may take part in the dancing, but there is no particular wedding dance. When all are exhausted, hosts and guests lie down to sleep wherever they find space, but bridegroom and bride do not spend the night together.

The next morning the bridegroom's party return to their own village accompanied by the bride and her nearest relations. A bridegroom who can afford it holds a second feast in his own village, where the young couple are once more made to sit together on a mat and *sari* and *gosh batta* are again knotted. If there is enough liquor, dancing also concludes the ceremonies on the second day. With this the celebrations come to an end, and the next day the bridegroom and bride take up their normal married life. When the couple have decided to live in the girl's village, the wedding party does not visit the village of the bridegroom and there is thus no feast on the second day. The young couple often remain under the parent's roof for some months, but as soon as possible they build a house of their own.

The general information on wedding customs which is obtainable from Chenchus is not very full, because informants find great difficulty in concentrating on the relevant and typical features of the various weddings which they have attended. I propose, therefore, to reproduce the account which Guruvaru (Nimal) of Boramacheruvu gave me of his own wedding a few days after it had occurred.

When I stayed in Boramacheruvu the widower Guruvaru confided to me that he would marry Lingama's daughter Gengi, who is the brother's daughter of his late wife. I was surprised at this plan, because Guruvaru was more than twice as old as Gengi, who was not yet mature, and he already had a daughter of his own who was of the same age as his prospective wife. But when other members of the group told me, that everybody concerned agreed to the marriage and the question of expense was the only obstacle, I offered to pay for the *sari* and the wedding feast in the hope of witnessing a Chenchu wedding. Guruvaru seemed pleased with this offer, but Lingama created difficulties and the *peddamanchi*, who had at first favoured the marriage, finally supported Lingama, taking the view that it was too early for Gengi to marry. Therefore, with much reluctance I abandoned the plan. Four weeks later, however, while I was camping in another part of the plateau, Mr. Nazir Ab Khan, Forester at Mananur, presented Guruvaru with the wedding expenses and the marriage took place in Boramacheruvu on May 2nd.

A few days later I met Guruvaru, who had in the meantime moved to Malapur, and he gave me the following account of the ceremony.

On the evening before the wedding Guruvaru, accompanied by Yidgaru, the *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu, and Gangaru (Tokal), went to fetch Lingama and Gengi from Appapur, where they were living. They took with them a small quantity of food and liquor, which they consumed with Lingama and Gengi, but there was no ceremony on that evening and no other villagers of Appapur shared their meal.

The next morning they all went to Boramacheruvu, where the guests had already assembled for the wedding. All the inhabitants of Boramacheruvu were present, including Papama, Merkal Guruvaru, and Gangaru (Nimal) of Yemlapaya with their wives and children, as well as Pedda Lachi, the bridegroom's elder sister, who is married in Lingal, Yidgaru (Tokal) of Appapur (House 6), Guruvi (Nimal) of Appapur (House 4), Yembi (Nimal) (Medimankal House 7), who lives in defiance of the laws of clan exogamy with her classificatory brother in Medimankal, and Guruvaru (Nimal) the *peddamanchi* of Irla Penta (Irla Penta House 1), who was incidentally on his way to Balmor and was invited to stay for the feast.

For the wedding Guruvaru had bought: a *sari* costing three rupees eight annas, and a *choli* costing six annas for Gengi, and a cloth for one rupee two annas for himself; two rupees worth of rice, four annas worth of chillies, four annas worth of onions and a small quantity of tamarind, salt, garlic, saffron and some sandalwood powder.

The morning of the wedding day was spent in preparing the food, and the ceremonies began in the early afternoon. While the men sat in front of the *peddamanchi*'s house, the women went inside and Guruvaru's sisters and Lingama dressed Gengi in the new *sari* and *choli*. Then they tied some rice, garlic, and saffron into a fold in front of Gengi's *sari* and brought her outside. Mohua spirit was passed round and they all began to drink, but they did not touch the food. With dusk approaching Pedda Lachi, Guruvaru's sister, tied Gengi's *sari* to Guruvaru's *gosh batta*; Gengi should then have stood beside him, but she was very shy, always hid behind Guruvaru and would not consent to sit beside him on the mat. As soon as the knot was tied, Yidgaru, the *peddamanchi*, threw some rice at the bridal couple. He and Guruvaru's two sisters then smeared Guruvaru's neck and legs with sandalwood powder and made a red mark on Gengi's forehead. The *peddamanchi* then blessed the couple and said:

“ *Borama*,¹ *talli*, *manchiga* *batkala* *na* *bidda*
Borama *mother*, *well* *live* *my* *daughter*
na *bava*² *pillal* *kandomi* *manchiga*
my *brother-in-law* *children* *many* *may have* *well* ”

1. Borama is a female deity specially connected with Sri Sailam and the ruined temple at Boramacheruvu.

2. Gengi is the *peddamanchi*'s brother's daughter, and Guruvaru his brother-in-law.

<i>batkala</i> ,	<i>Borama</i>	<i>talli</i> ."
live	Borama	mother.

The same words with the respective relationship-terms were repeated by Lingama and Guruvaru's two sisters when they each in turn threw rice at the couple.

After this the whole assembly went inside the house and Guruvaru and Gengi sat side by side and were given some food. Only after they had eaten, were the older people and the rest of the guests also given something to eat. The feasting and drinking, with intervals of dancing, lasted late into the night, when they were so tired that they all went to sleep in the house of the *peddamanchi*.

Next morning Guruvaru accompanied Lingama and Gengi back to Appapur. However, he did not stay with his new wife, but returned to Boramacheruvu for a few days, after which he moved to his home village Malapur and there built a small hut for himself and his children. Gengi remained in Appapur and when I saw her there a month later she declared, she would not go to Malapur 'to live with such an old man,' and Lingama reproached Guruvaru for not coming to live in Appapur. However, Guruvaru said that he intended to build a big house after the rains and he was confident that Gengi and Lingama would then come and join him in Malapur.

The full wedding ceremonial as described here is, however, not essential for the conclusion of a valid marriage. Lingama of Appapur, the mother of Gengi, told me that her parents died when she was a child and her relations who brought her up gave her in marriage to Guruvaru (Tokal) of Boramacheruvu while she was still very young and without a proper wedding feast. And when Lingama's two elder daughters married, their husbands were too poor to give their brides *sari* and *choli*, and so Lingama herself provided each with a *sari*. As long as the girl's parents agree to such a simplification of the wedding, there is usually a gathering of the nearest relatives and the bridegroom tries to provide at least a small amount of liquor. The presence of a few relatives and the *peddamanchi* of the village where the wedding takes place, seems to be considered necessary to impart to the union the character of a real marriage.

If a young man is unable to collect the necessary cash, and yet wants to marry the daughter of well-to-do people, he may dispense with the obligation of presents and a marriage feast, if he agrees to stay for some years in the house of his parents-in-law.

Nowadays the Chenchus make a distinction between a marriage concluded in front of an assembly of kinsmen and strengthened by their blessings, and unions entered upon in a less formal manner; but this distinction is probably of recent date and due to the infiltration of Hindu ideas. For the social status of the marriage partners and their children

in no way depends on the form in which their marriage was contracted.

The omission of all formalities at the conclusion of a union may be due to the refusal of the parents to agree to the marriage, or to the fact that either of the partners has been married before. When a young man and a girl decide to live together and their parents oppose their intention, they sometimes run away and live by themselves in the jungle until time has lent sanction to their union, or they join another local group where they have relatives, and in such cases asylum is seldom refused. Once the couple have one or two children they return to the man's or woman's home-village and are accepted as married people whose status is in no way inferior to those married with full ceremonial. Widowers and widows often dispense with all ceremonial when they marry again, but the parents of a young girl who give their daughter to a widowed man may insist on his providing the customary gifts and wedding feast. A 'divorced' woman can never marry again with full rites as long as her husband is alive, for the Chenchus say,—and in this attitude they are undoubtedly influenced by their Hindu neighbours,—that a woman cannot be married to two men at the same time. Yet very many Chenchu women who have run away from their husbands or who have been forsaken enter into new unions undistinguishable from real marriages, and live with their partners as respected members of the community.

This seems to indicate that the marriage ceremonies and the presentation of *sari* and *choli* are customs of comparatively recent introduction, and are not essential for the conclusion of a union, which in all other aspects embodies the functions of a perfectly legal marriage. Though aping certain elements of Hindu ceremonial, the Chenchus have clearly retained the older custom of recognizing the union of every man and woman who live together in a common habitation as marriage with all its social implications. Yidgaru (Tokal) of Pulajelma confirmed this when he explained: "In the old times the Chenchus had no houses and clothes, and they had no money to buy rice or tobacco. So how could they hold wedding feasts? The young men and girls just went to the jungle and made love, and when they came back they were regarded as man and wife."

But the growing contact with Hindu ideas is gradually modifying old principles and in those villages most in touch with the plains, such as Pulajelma, Railet, Vatellapalli and Sarlapalli, the custom of marrying girls before they are mature is steadily gaining ground. In such cases tragedy often results, for the cost of the wedding, which is high for the meagre resources of the Chenchu, establishes a claim on the bride, whose refusal to live with her husband when she reaches maturity is answered by a demand from the husband's family for the refund of the marriage expenses; and if the girl's parents are unable or unwilling to make the refund, they will do their best to force the girl to

stay in the husband's village. One girl of Pulajelma, who was married when quite small to a man in Railet, disliked her husband when she became mature and was supposed to live in his house, and repeatedly ran back to her home village. Her relations instead of offering her protection, as they would have done under ordinary circumstances, drove her back to Railet each time her husband claimed her, for they were afraid of having to refund the ten rupees spent on the wedding. This attitude is certainly not typical of the Chenchus and has only developed with the new connection between marriage and the expenditure of wealth.

As a rule no Chenchu woman will stay long with a man she dislikes. There is no formal procedure for divorce, but if she finds another man willing to live with her, she runs away with him, or failing a new partner she seeks refuge among her own relatives. In the first instance, the aggrieved husband may try to exact compensation from his wife's new partner and it depends on circumstances and his personal influence whether his claim is satisfied. But under no circumstances can he compel his wife to return, once she has entered upon a new union. Though a woman cannot marry a second time while her first husband is alive, she suffers no social disability in living with another man without 'proper' marriage rites, nor have her children from the new partner a status different from those of her first marriage. In cases of separation small children usually remain with the mother, but no definite rule exists in this respect.

Just as a wife may run away from her husband so a man may send away his wife, but it is said that if there are children the relations of both sides will attempt to reconcile the parties. Since polygyny is permitted among the Chenchus, the taking of a second wife does not necessarily entail separation from the first, and it is perhaps for this reason that there are more women who desert husbands than men who desert wives. This applies, however, not so much to this as to the last generation, for in these days polygyny has become extremely rare.

Adultery is in itself not considered a cause for ejecting a wife, and during the mohua flower season, when men and women are frequently drunk, a fair amount of promiscuous love-making occurs. It would be far from true to say that all Chenchu women make cuckolds of their husbands, but the standard of marital fidelity is not very exigent. If a woman repeatedly betrays her husband, however, he may take action against her lover, either by beating him or by calling together the old men of the community and the *peddamanchi* of the villages concerned to arbitrate. I was told that in the old times the guilty couple was tied to a tree and beaten by the whole village, but this drastic form of punishment seems to have fallen gradually into disuse. If the husband forgives his wife, he will take her back, but if

he refuses, the seducer must accept the woman into his house, even if he is already married, and must pay the husband any expenses, which the latter may have incurred at the wedding. Few men, however, bring their marital quarrels before the village elders and I do not know any concrete case of a man being fined for adultery, while several men grumbled that their wives 'went with other men.'

Polygyny—and this is the only existing form of polygamy, polyandry being entirely unknown to the Chenchus—is at present restricted to two cases. Gangaru (Nimal) of Irla Penta, who is married to two sisters, said that he had to marry the second sister because she could not find a husband and there was no one else to care for her; now he lives with his two wives and their five children in one house. The second polygamous marriage is that of Paparu (Nimal) of Rampur, who is also married to two sisters and lives with them in one house.¹ The late Papaya (Pulsaru) of Sarlapalli had four wives; at the time of his death two of them lived in Sarlapalli, each in her own house, while another lived in Timmareddipalli, a neighbouring village. The third wife died some time ago, but her son is being brought up by Papaya's brother's son in Appapur, because the step-mothers did not treat him well. I heard that the two wives in Sarlapalli quarrelled a great deal, and although only one was properly 'married' to Papaya their status was that of equals. Many Chenchus of the last generation contracted polygamous marriages; Guruvaru, the founder of Pullaipalli, for instance, had as many as five wives. He married first two sisters of Malapur, and subsequently three more wives; each wife had a house of her own, and they are reported to have lived peacefully together, Guruvaru eating now with the one and then with the other. Yidgaru, his youngest son, said that people were glad to give their daughters to his father, even though he had other wives, for he was rich and had much cattle.

The vast majority of marriages, however, are monogamous and the Chenchus themselves appear to consider monogamy as the more respectable form of union; I believe that a certain amount of embarrassment was discernible among my informants when talking of polygamous unions of near relatives. No doubt in the old days too, a man who took care of the unmarried sister of his wife subsequently recognized her as a second wife, but men with four or five wives seem to have been a phenomenon of the last two or three generations and one that was probably due to the sudden development of wealth and the acquisition of cattle by individual Chenchus.

Endo-clan marriages are rare and although there are at present a few on the plateau, these cannot be looked on as representative of a normal type of marriage, but constitute a flagrant violation of tribal law and will therefore be discussed in Chapter XXI.

1. For a third case of polygamous marriage, which was to take place shortly after my departure, see p. 174.

Working through an interpreter, I was unfortunately unable to gather much information on the more intimate aspects of married life. Chenchus cohabit in the house or shelter, or occasionally in the jungle, and there is the belief that sexual congress should not take place in complete darkness or when it is raining. For children conceived in darkness may be born blind and children conceived during rain will be given to much weeping. Moonlight, the first glimmer of dawn, or the glow from the embers of the fire are considered sufficient to avert such consequences. I doubt very much, however, whether this taboo is always strictly observed; illicit lovers or young couples who live in their parents' house and slip out at night to sleep together in the open are unlikely to pay much attention to light conditions. Only one form of coitus seems to be practised by the Chenchus: the woman lies on her back with the knees bent and slightly drawn up, while the man squats or kneels between her legs.

In the revels of the mohua season man and wife sometimes leave a drinking party and seek the privacy of their own house or some secluded spot in the jungle where they make love in broad daylight; and this is considered not only safer for any child conceived but also more enjoyable than love-making in the dark. It is, however, not only married couples who are stimulated by the spirit of the mohua; women of easy morals grasp the opportunity of the general state of drunkenness and an amorous woman may literally drag a young man into the forest, while even girls occasionally take the initiative.

During pregnancy intercourse is continued until the last weeks and is resumed ten or fifteen days after confinement. Children of all ages sleep in the same hut as their parents, but if a man marries a second time adolescent children from his first marriage go to sleep in the house of an old couple or widow since their presence would embarrass the father and his new wife.

Position of Women

We are now in a position to review the status of women in general, and here we must again differentiate clearly between theory, which reflects to a certain extent the influence of Hinduism, and practice, which is expressive of the old Chenchu attitude. In theory women are legally inferior to men; they cannot inherit any substantial property although they can own property, they are dependent on their relatives in concluding marriages, and have to abide by their husbands' decisions in regard, for instance, to place of residence. But actual life presents a different picture. There we see the Chenchu women as the equal companion of Chenchu man, doing as much if not more of the work in maintaining the common household, and consequently considering herself, and being considered by her husband, as joint posses-

sor of the family property in so far as it is acquired by their concerted labour. In all her daily tasks she acts exactly as she thinks right and her husband seldom interferes in the domain which is hers. Moreover, she may go alone on visits to other villages or to the bazaar, and may spend as she likes any small sum which she happens to possess. She eats with her husband and may smoke in his presence. Such questions as the moving to another local group or the purchase or sale of any important article are discussed between husband and wife; alone he makes no decision of any consequence. Naturally much depends on the character of both partners. There are domineering as well as henpecked husbands among the Chenchus, and besides insipid women there are those who can more than hold their own. Sometimes a man beats his wife, but many women will hit back and there are few men who dare to go as far. Chenchu women show no shyness in front of strangers and when visitors come to the village they join in the conversation on equal terms with the men. No taboos bar them from any activities, ceremonies or recreations, and those who have attended a drinking party cannot doubt the equality of Chenchu women in social life. Unfettered by social conventions they may live with any man of their choice, should a first marriage prove unsuccessful, and there are not two different moral codes, one for men and one for women. This equality is also reflected in the folk-tales of the Chenchus in which women act as independently as men (cf. pp. 209, 210), and sometimes even take the initiative in the approaches to marriage (pp. 205, 208). With the infiltration of foreign marriage customs the girls' freedom in choosing their mates is gradually becoming endangered, but in general the excellent social status of Chenchu women remains unimpaired.

CHAPTER XVIII

PREGNANCY, CHILDBIRTH AND NAME-GIVING

SINCE the Chenchus know no means of preventing conception, most women become pregnant soon after marriage. But if two or three years elapse before a wife bears her first child, this *interim*, which is probably due to the fact that marriage follows so soon on puberty, is not considered in any way alarming. It is only when a couple remains childless over a period of years that a wife's barrenness is attributed to the disfavour of the gods and the couple resort to divination in order to discover which deity will help them in their trouble, promising to make a large offering and to give the child the god's name if their prayers are granted. Should this appeal to higher powers meet with no success and the years pass without the couple being blessed with a child, the husband is considered justified in taking a second wife. But sterility is a comparatively rare misfortune among Chenchu women and I know of only one middle aged woman on the upper plateau who has never born a child although her husband has offspring from another wife.

Most men are rather vague over the duration of pregnancy, and Guruvaru (Nimal) of Boramacheruvu, the father of seven children assured me that neither he nor other Chenchus knew how long pregnancy lasts and that an expectant mother was unable to predict when her child would be born. But Vidama of Malapur, a woman experienced in midwifery, said that pregnancy lasts nine months in the case of a boy and ten months if the child is a girl. For girls, who are weaker and less hardy, petitioned the gods to be allowed to stay ten months in the mother's womb, while boys, who are stronger and more energetic, emerge sooner.

The soul (*jiv*) is believed to come from the god Bhagavantaru (cf. p. 194) and to enter the child while it is in the mother's womb and a still-born child is a child born before the arrival of the *jiv*. Miscarriages, which seem to be rare, are ascribed to the malevolence of a deity "who catches hold of pregnant women." In Pula-jelma a young woman had a miscarriage in the third month of pregnancy and divination proved that it had been brought about by the interference of Vutikanka (cf. p. 218), a female deity who hovers near wells and who had caught the young woman when she went to draw water. The woman was consequently very ill and would not speak

for some time, but she was given some *vomum* seeds and recovered after a few days. There was apparently no fear of any kind of pollution during the period of her illness or convalescence, for the other women of the village went freely in and out of her house, and I found her husband sitting beside her when I visited her the day after the mishap.

There are no taboos which a pregnant woman must observe, but she should try to avoid eating stale food. It is considered good for her to work and to go about her usual business, for then delivery will be easy whereas a woman who sits about the village and does nothing will have a difficult time.

When the first labour pains begin, a woman experienced in midwifery is called to assist at the delivery. During the early stages of labour the expectant mother sits in front of her house surrounded by her women friends, but as the pains increase she retires inside accompanied by the midwife and other women helpers. There both her *sari* and *choli* are removed, a single cloth is tied round her waist, and she is made to sit on the ground with her knees drawn up.

No man enters the house during a normal confinement, but the husband waits near at hand in case water or anything else is required by the women helping his wife. It is not considered unlucky, however, if he happens to be absent from the village and he is subjected to no taboos either during the pregnancy and confinement of his wife or after the birth of the child. Children of the household are looked after by another woman, and if necessary they sleep in a neighbour's house.

If all goes well the midwife has little to do. But in cases of difficult labour she tries to help by rubbing and pressing and by applying hot water. She knows in which position the child should be born, and if she finds that it lies across the mouth of the uterus, she will attempt to turn it by massage. If labour is protracted, supernatural influences are suspected of obstructing the birth and the husband's help is sought; he then tries to discover by divination (cf. p. 199) which deity is responsible for the delay, and promises to give the child the deity's name. This promise is believed to placate the deity and to speed the birth. If it is an evil spirit (*dayam*) which is thought to be causing the trouble, the mother is given incense to smell and a wise man may be called to pronounce magical formulæ to ward off the danger. Few people, however, know these formulæ; I heard of only two men on the whole of the upper plateau who were reputed to be able to recite such *mantram*, and they, it was said, had learnt them from outsiders; unfortunately neither of these 'wise men' could be induced to confide the words of their formulæ.

When all appeals to minor deities are unavailing and the confinement drags on over a long period, the husband tries to enlist the help of the goddess Garelamaisama. He takes some millet in his hand and holds it close to the head of his wife. Then he throws the millet into

the open for Garelamaisama and prays:

"*Pilla gagu wuri parte ekana seer zonna techi miku moketam miku dandam.*"
 "child (if) is born one seer millet bring to you vow to you hail."

If this prayer is granted and the child is born, the husband in fulfilment of his vow buys or borrows some millet, cooks it and takes it to the stones sacred to Garelamaisama where he keeps it for some time before eating it together with his family.

In desperate cases or if the child is believed to have died in the womb, the midwife inserts her hand and tries to drag it out in an attempt to save at least the mother's life. But death in childbed seems to be rare and Vidama of Malapur says that although she has acted as midwife for Malapur and Pulajelma for the last six years no woman in her care has died. She knows as a rule how long it will take for a child to be born, and if she is called in the early morning the birth usually occurs in the late afternoon, but in cases of first or difficult confinement labour may last a whole day or longer.

The umbilical cord is cut with a knife and tied with any kind of string or thread. The cord and the afterbirth are buried in a hole in the ground near the house and the newly born child is laid down on the newly replaced earth and washed with warm water.

Women out collecting roots sometimes give birth to a child in the jungle. If the woman is alone she manages as best she can, cutting the navel string with two stones if she has no knife, and binding it with a thread from her *sari*; she then wraps the child as well as the afterbirth in her cloth and brings them both to the village. If another woman is present she will help, but a husband must never render any practical assistance during childbirth. I know of one woman who was with her husband in the forest and found her time upon her before she could reach home, but she insisted that he should wait at some distance until the child was born refusing to allow him to stay with her or help her in any way.

No medicine is ever given to a woman in labour, but after confinement the mother is fed with a little rice or millet, if possible, and sometimes made to drink a concoction of bark, seeds and leaves. As soon as she feels well enough she is washed by the midwife and in a very short time resumes her normal activities. During the mohua flower season in Pulajelma, I saw a woman at a drinking party in the jungle on the day after she had born a child and I was told that this is not at all unusual; if there is any liquor in a village a newly delivered mother may drink some immediately after she is confined.

Childbirth is apparently not followed by any definite period of ceremonial impurity, but some of my informants said that as long as a

woman is bleeding she and the midwife are regarded as 'unclean,' and that during this time the midwife cooks for her and washes her clothes. But this rule is not generally accepted, for if the midwife is from another village she returns home soon after the birth. Similarly no restrictions are imposed on women during menstruation, and though the Chenchus are familiar with the taboos on cooking and fetching water observed by plains women, they say that since Chenchu women have no one to help them they have to work as usual during their monthly period.

The midwife is compensated for her services according to the means of the patient. She may receive only four annas and some food, or as much as one rupee in addition to a *choli*. Any woman who has shown herself clever in assisting at a birth may in time take up the work of a midwife, but there are not many recognized midwives on the plateau; the people of Pulajelma, for instance, among whom there are several old women, go to Malapur to fetch Vidama (Nimal), whenever there is a confinement in the village.

No superstitious beliefs surround the birth of twins; they are considered neither lucky or unlucky. At present there is only one pair of twins on the plateau, brothers about five years old, who have been named Ramaru and Lachmaru and are being brought up in the ordinary way.

If a woman finds difficulty in suckling her child, the husband buys some millet and prepares a liquid porridge, which is believed to increase her milk. But when a woman dies in childbed her relations try to rear the child on buffalo milk, though this effort is seldom attended by success. Vidama said that no woman will suckle another's child, but other informants told me that a woman with sufficient milk would do her best to feed a motherless infant as well as her own child. It is probably not so much the other women's unwillingness to help, which makes the rearing of such babies precarious, but the difficulty of feeding two infants at the same time while living on the ordinary Chenchu diet.

The birthrate of the Chenchus is very high and it can only be due to the high infant-mortality that the population of the plateau is not on the increase. Reckoning all married women on the plateau, including those who have only just entered upon their period of child-bearing, the average number of children per head is 3.5 and if we consider only those women, who are presumably past the age of child-bearing, the average rises to 5.5. It is impossible to say how many children die within the first year, but judging from my village-census at least 29% die before reaching maturity. These figures are probably still too low, since there is a tendency among the Chenchus not to mention those children who died soon after birth when recounting the number of their offspring, and thus some may have been omitted from my census figures.

We have seen that some Chenchus name a child while it is still in

the mother's womb in order to facilitate delivery, and this is feasible owing to the dual character of Chenchu names, for each of which there is a male as well as a female form. The practice of naming a child before birth is not only followed in cases of difficult labour, but is sometimes employed in the hopes of securing the help of the invisible powers at the outset of confinement. If the child is not named at this early stage, the parents may wait a few weeks and even months before deciding on a name. Indeed many children die nameless.

The Chenchus have no kind of name-giving ceremony; the result of divination or the decision of the parents is considered sufficient sanction. The range of Chenchu names is surprisingly small, and it would almost seem as if the function of names were not so much to distinguish one person from another, as to solicit the protection of a deity. Some people call as many as three or four of their children after the same god or goddess, and in such cases identification is only made possible by the attachment of such attributes as *pedda* big, *nulla* middle, and *chinna* small. One man in Rampur called six successive children after the god Lingamaya, but as they all died in infancy he lost faith in this god, and called the three subsequent children born to him after the goddess Balamma.

Most Chenchu names are derived from those of deities. The male form terminates in *—aru* (Lingaru, Guruvaru) or in the short form simply *—a* (Linga, Guruva), and female names end in *—ama* (Lingama, Guruvama) or simply *—i* (Lingi, Guruvi). Thus Lingaru and Lingama are derived from the god Lingamaya, Guruvaru and Guruvama from the god Guruvappa, and Gangaru and Gengama from the water goddess Gangamma.¹ The male ending *—aru* changes sometimes into *—aya* or even *appa*; thus a man called Paparu was more frequently referred to as Papaya and occasionally as Papappa. But the name of the goddess Garelamaisama, the most important and probably the oldest deity of the Chenchus, is never given to any human being, for it is believed that a child called after this goddess would die within a short time.

It can easily be seen from the village-census, which names are most popular in the present generation; among 166 names found in a number of genealogies compiled from fathers and grandfathers of living Chenchus, Lingaru and Lingama occurred 55 times, Guruvaru and Guruvama 45 times and Gangaru and Gengama 28 times.

Owing to the paucity of names a man's name even if preceded by the name of his clan, as for instance "Tokal Lingaru," gives little indication of his identity, and nicknames are sometimes attached to the all

1. In literary Telugu the ending *-amma* (mother) is written with double *m*, but since the Chenchus lay no emphasis on the preceding vowel I have transcribed the personal names with one *m*; in the case of goddesses who are worshipped also by other populations, however, I have retained the transcription current in ethnographic literature.

too common personal names. Thus Guruvaru (Tokal) of Appapur is known as Merkal Guruvaru, because in his youth he herded goats (*merkal*), Sigarlu Lingaru of Vatellapalli as Vorre (noisy) Lingaru, because he always shouts, and Chinta Lingi is so called, because as a child she showed a special partiality for tamarinds. These nicknames are, however, not very frequent and in working on genealogies it is sometimes difficult to understand of which Lingaru or Guruvi an informant is speaking, since in each family table the same name occurs twelve or more times.

CHAPTER XIX

ILLNESS, DEATH AND BURIAL

THE PHYSIQUE of the Jungle Chenchus is on the whole fairly good and their health is in no way inferior to that of the surrounding plains people. After the rains, when every depression is filled with stagnant water, they undoubtedly suffer badly from malaria, but during the six months which I spent among them I saw comparatively few cases of illness. Many children have enlarged spleens due to malarial infection, but those who survive seem to develop in later years a certain resistance. Among the epidemics which from time to time ravage the plateau, small-pox ranks foremost, but vaccination initiated lately in some of the villages near the cart-track by touring medical officers should prove most efficacious in limiting this danger. There appear to have been devastating epidemics some thirty years and again ten years ago, when whole families were wiped out and villages were deserted; I was unable, however, to establish their character. Yaws occur among the Chenchus, but while only a few cases exist as yet on the upper plateau, the victims in the plains villages are more numerous. Venereal diseases as well as leprosy seem to be practically non-existent and I saw no case of skin disease. The most frequent of the minor ailments are inflammations of the eyes, from which both adults and children suffer.

Treatment of Disease

Faced by any serious illness the Chenchu is more or less helpless and sets all his hopes on appeals to higher powers. But for curing external injuries and the more common of the minor complaints he uses certain practical remedies. Any kind of internal pain, be it in chest, hip or leg, is treated in the manner which is in common usage throughout the Telugu country, namely by burning the skin over the ache with a twig of *pala tiga* (*Cryptolepsis Buchanani*). A stem of this creeper is bent double and the looped end, where the bark has cracked, is heated over the fire and applied like sealing wax to the skin. A man with a headache will burn marks into the skin across the whole breadth of his forehead and for weeks he will have charred ridges over his eyes; an ankle twisted in the jungle will receive the same treatment, an ugly hole being burnt into the swollen flesh; a pain in the chest during fever calls for three burns, in the form of a triangle and would seem to cause more pain than it cures; but the Chenchu has great faith in this remedy.

In cases of stomach ache, Chenchus simply rub the stomach, but if the pain persists they take the leaves of a shrub called *bzranka* (*Strabulus asper*) and rub the milky juice over the aching part. They have few medicines which they eat or drink for internal aches and pains, but they willingly take any quantity given them by outsiders.

For fever the patient is sometimes made to drink a mixture of onions, garlic and ginger, pounded and stirred in water, but this is not given frequently, since all the ingredients must be bought in the plains. Chenchus attacked by toothache grind the leaves of a certain tree and pour the juice into the right ear if the aching tooth is on the left side, and *vice versa*. Most people have very good teeth, however, and some men told me that they had never experienced toothache in their lives. When children suffer from swollen tonsils, a crude remedy is employed. *Railaku* leaves are rolled and inserted as far up the nostril as possible; the operator then hammers on the stiff cylinder of the rolled-up leaf till blood streams from the nose. Youngsters scream and struggle while this painful operation is being performed and have to be held down by two or three people, but older children submit uncomplainingly.

Cuts and small wounds are usually left to dry and receive no treatment. Serious wounds caused by bear-bite, or a fall from a tree are treated with a paste of saffron mixed with the crushed leaves of *Chloroxylon swietenia*. This is applied thickly over the wound and seems to contain great healing properties, for I saw one man, who had been badly mauled by a bear and had perfectly recovered without his wounds having become septic. And a woman gored by a buffalo cow when I was in Appapur, was although badly shaken quite cheerful over the large gashes that she had smeared with a thick layer of this paste, confident that they would heal.

Chenchus certainly realize the danger of snakes, but none of my informants knew of a person who had died of snake-bite. Many men confessed that if bitten they would be at a loss what to do, but would rely on the help of a man 'who is clever in such things.' Such a man was Papaya of Sarlapalli, who unfortunately died a few weeks before I visited his village. The news of his death had not yet filtered through to Boramacheruvu when Guruvaru (Nimal) told me, that should any of his family be bitten by a snake, he would first burn out the wound with glowing wood and then carry the patient to Sarlapalli to be treated by Papaya, who was reputed to heal snake-bite by giving the patient a mixture to drink made from human urine and pounded leaves and bark. Lingaru of Malapur, however, explained that he cured snake-bite with the leaves of a small tree, which he could find, but for which he knew no name; the juice of the leaves is given to the patient to drink and although the immediate effect is to make him vomit, he then gradually recovers.

Any illness the cause of which is beyond the understanding of the Chenchus is attributed to the malevolence of a deity or the angered *jiv* of a deceased kinsman, and the only way of countering such an influence is to discover which deity or *jiv* is responsible. This is done by divination with the help of a smooth pebble, as described in Chapter XXIV (cf. p. 199). No formal prayers are said or ceremonies performed during illness and the gods are only promised offerings if they assist the patient to recover. The cult of certain deities specially connected with disease and epidemics such as Potsamma, the smallpox deity, will be discussed in Chapter XXII. If an illness does not yield to any remedy and all appeals to supernatural powers remain fruitless, black magic is suspected, but the Chenchus' conception of this is extremely vague (cf. p. 198).

When a Chenchu is dangerously ill and lapses into unconsciousness, it is believed that his soul (*jiv*) leaves his body. Some Chenchus say that the *jiv* goes to 'god,' and here they use the term *Sami* without being able to say which god, although probably Bhagavantaru is intended, but if the patient regains consciousness the *jiv* is thought to have returned to the body. It is only at death, that the nexus between body and *jiv* is ultimately and permanently severed.

Funeral Rites

There are no ceremonies or rites to accompany a Chenchu's last moments, and he is allowed to die quietly in his house or shelter. As soon as life is extinct, the corpse is washed by any of the relations, the feet are smeared with saffron and the legs with ashes, the hair is loosened and washed and then anointed with ghee; finally the corpse is wrapped in the deceased's own cloth. All ornaments are removed and while glass bangles and other trinkets of small value are buried with the body, the most precious of a woman's ornaments are kept by her heirs.

Nowadays the dead are either buried or burnt, but every thing suggests that the custom of burning is a comparatively recent innovation. It is most prevalent among the Chenchus of Sarlapalli and Vatellapalli, who are strongly influenced by the Telugu peasantry of the villages near Amrabad, while the Chenchus in the south-west of the plateau retain the old custom of burial, and say that only persons killed by tigers or panthers are burnt; for a tiger would track down his kill and unearth a buried corpse. Persons killed by bears, on the other hand, are interred like the rest of the community, for bears, the Chenchus say, will not return to ferret out their kill.

Burial takes place within an hour or two of death and there is thus neither time nor opportunity to summon relations of neighbouring villages; they are informed afterwards and assemble only for the subsequent ceremonies. If a man dies in a permanent village the body

is laid to rest in the burial ground (*vulkal gadda*), which generally lies two or three furlongs from the houses, but those dying in a temporary settlement are buried at any suitable place in the vicinity. Wherever a man dies, there he is buried and under no circumstances is the corpse transported to his home village. In large settlements the nearest male relatives of the deceased carry the corpse and dig the grave, but when there are only two or three families living together, all the men help in the interment or burning and all the women wail near the corpse while the grave is dug or the funeral pyre prepared.

The grave is generally three to four feet deep, and the corpse is laid in the ground flat on the stomach. The grave is orientated so that the head points to the south-west and the feet to the north-east, while the face is turned towards the rising sun. The loosened hair is arranged over the shoulders and back, and the arms are straightened and laid close to the sides of the body. The deceased is buried in his clothes, but those who own no cloth are covered with a little grass or leaves before the earth is filled in. No deity is invoked during the funeral, but before the grave is closed, the wife or husband of the deceased or the nearest blood-relation takes two handfuls of earth and throws it into the grave, saying :

<i>Niku</i>	<i>naku</i>	<i>duram</i>	<i>aendi</i>
You	I	far	are

Then the grave is filled with earth and large stones are heaped over the place to protect it against wild animals.

Still-born children are buried like adults, but interment is not followed by the memorial ceremony on the third and tenth day. Women dying in childbed, however, are buried in the usual manner, and if both infant and mother die they are buried in the same grave and there are the usual ceremonies after a certain number of days.

When the dead are burnt, the corpse is placed on a pile of wood and logs are heaped on the fire, which is kept burning until the corpse is reduced to ashes. There is no definite rule as to which dead are burnt, but it is said that the custom is particularly prevalent among the people of Menlur clan.

When the body has been disposed of, whether by burning or burial, all those who took part in the procedure wash themselves in some nearby well or stream before returning to their houses. On each of the next three days food is brought to the grave or burning ground morning and evening, where it is deposited on leaf plates, but for infants a small quantity of mother's milk is poured on the ground at the head of the corpse. The soul of the deceased is believed to visit his former house during these days, and the provision made for these visits are described in Chapter XXIII.

On the third day after death the relatives go to the grave, and if the family has any money they will have bought a little rice, which they prepare, but otherwise they cook a little ordinary food and tie it up in three leaf-parcels, which they place on the grave in such a way that the three parcels of food rest over the head, the stomach and the feet of the deceased. Then they say:

"*Sami Naraina Bhagvanta, niku naku duram poindi*
Sami Naraina Bhagvanta, you me far go
Sami ni ichinavaru nivu tisken .poine varu nivu
Sami you gave us you took gone you
Sami degra poi cherala ni iga dandam
Sami near gone meet you again hail.

The idea here seems to be that the deceased has now journeyed far from the living; that the deity who gave life has taken it away again; and that the soul of the deceased is now safe with the deity.

This ceremony is called *chinna dinal* and is performed even for children and unmarried persons, but the funeral feast, the *pedda dinal*, for which relatives from far and near assemble, is held only for married people. The *pedda dinal* should be performed on the tenth day after death, but since it involves some expenditure the ceremony is sometimes postponed in order to give the nearest of kin time to collect the money necessary for its celebration.

While I was never present at either a burial or a burning, I had the good fortune to witness a funeral feast in Sarlapalli. Papaya of Pulsaru clan, a man famous for his knowledge of medicine, had died about a month previously and his relations were about to hold the *pedda dinal* when I arrived in the village.

On the day before the ceremony some of Papaya's relatives went to Amrabad and bought two rupees worth of rice, dhal and spices, which the men of the family cooked next morning in two large pots in front of the house where Papaya had lived; women do not take part in preparing food for this feast. When the rice was cooked, a fairly large quantity was made up into three leaf parcels. Then a procession formed, which was headed by Gangaru (Pulsaru), the deceased's brother's son, who carried the three parcels of rice in his cloth. With him went Lingaru (Pulsaru), a boy of about twelve, the elder son of Papaya from Lachama, his first wife. Papaya's younger son from Lachama as well as his third wife's son Paparu, who was about nine years old and lived with Gangaru in Appapur, did not attend the funeral ceremony. Next in the procession came Papaya's three step-sons, the offspring of the first marriage of his fourth wife, Anmama, and with them came Kanaru (Menlur), the husband of Papaya's step-daughter,

Yidgaru (Menlur), the husband of Papaya's brother's daughter, and Gangaru (Menlur), Papaya's sister's son, as well as four men, Yiradu (Menlur) of Upnotla, Yidgaru (Sigarlu-Jela) of Koman Penta, Gangaru (Menlur) of Koman Penta and Guruvaru (Menlur) of Upnotla, who were not related by blood, but had been good friends to Papaya. At the end of the procession went Papaya's first wife Lachama, his fourth wife Anmama and an old woman Gengi (Menlur) who was not related to the deceased. Papaya's second wife, who lives in Timmaredipalli, did not attend the ceremony, nor did the small daughter of Papaya, whose mother is Anmama. Not one of the other men of Sarlapalli, not even the *peddamanchi*, attended the ceremony, although during his life-time Papaya had been perhaps the most prominent man of the village.

The procession moved in single file through the jungle to the place, where a month ago the body of Papaya had been burnt. Half way, where the corpse-bearers had rested, the procession halted and put down one of the leaf-bundles of rice; I was told that this rice was for the crows. As soon as the leaf-parcel had been put down and the food spread out, the procession made its way to the burning-place. The ashes were still visible on the surface of the ground, but the corpse including the bones had been entirely consumed by the fire. The men now put several large stones at both ends of the space covered with ashes and placing the second bundle of rice on the space between them spread out the rice as before (Fig. 57). Then they poured a few drops of mohua liquor on the rice, but no words accompanied this action. The three women wailed for a few moments, but soon the whole procession moved to a small pool, which owing to the heavy rain of the preceding days contained a fair amount of water.

Here all the men sat down on the newly sprouting grass, while the women went to another pool at a short distance to wash their *sari*. In the meantime, one of the old men shaved the head of Papaya's twelve-year old son, leaving only a tuft on the top of the head. He performed this operation with a small razor after thoroughly wetting the hair with water (Fig. 59). Next he shaved the beard of Gangaru, Papaya's brother's son, but not his moustache. The hair under the armpits was also removed and this done Gangaru retired behind a bush where he himself shaved his pubic hair. When all was ready Gangaru and Lingaru, Papaya's son, waded into the water, holding the third and last of the leaf-parcels of rice, while all the men began to shout, and one of Papaya's step-sons fired his gun. As the shot rang out Gangaru and Lingaru entirely submerged themselves in the water together with the leaf-bundle, doing all in their power to prevent the leaves or any of the rice from rising to the surface (Fig. 58). Only when they were satisfied that all lay safely on the bottom of the pool and that not a



FIG. 58. *The submerging of food-offerings during the funeral feast.*



FIG. 59. *Shaving the head of the deceased's son during funeral feast.*



FIG. 60. *Drinking mohua liquor from leaf-cups.*



grain floated on the surface of the water, did they begin to wash themselves thoroughly standing in the shallow water. This was the signal for all the others present to wash their legs and hands; but the thoroughness with which they executed these ablutions was purely a matter for the individual. On the conclusion of this ceremonial bath, the men poured liquor into a small cup, from which each drank in turn. Then the wives of the deceased wrapt in their wet *sari* came from the other pool where the old woman Gengi had broken their glass bangles in the moment that Gangaru and Lingaru had submerged in the water. Each woman also received a cup of liquor and then the whole procession moved back to the village. The pots with rice and *dapram*¹ were reheated and their contents distributed among all those who had taken part in the ceremony as well as to their children. Some people sat and ate in the open on the space outside Anmama's house, but most of those assembled went inside her house in which Papaya had lived. More liquor was drunk and the feast lasted without interruption for the whole of that day.

It is noteworthy, that the ceremony as well as the subsequent feast was solely the concern of the near relations and personal friends of Papaya, and not of the whole village community; and we may gather from this, that a village which consists of more than one kin group does not act as a unit in ceremonial matters.

With the *pedda dinal* ceremony the funeral rites are completed. There are however people, particularly in the south-west of the plateau, who put food on the graves of their near relations once a year begging their assistance in this life (cf. p. 197), but most people pay no further attention to the grave or burning place. The Chenchus are themselves unable to give consistent reasons as to why they put food down for the crows or why the third parcel of rice is submerged in the water. Some say that the latter is done for the water goddess Gangamma, while others lay more emphasis on the bath and the washing away of the evil adhering to the deceased. It is evident that the food put down on the grave is destined for the soul of the dead in the same way as the milk poured on the graves of small children is supposed to give them the nourishment to which they are accustomed. In regard to the food left behind for the crows, I was given two entirely different and even contradictory explanations. Some of my informants said that if the crows eat the food it shows that the deceased was a good person and his *jiv* will help the surviving relations. Other men, and among them Guruvaru (Nimal) of Boramacheruvu, told me that it is a good sign if the food is not touched by crows or other animals, for this signifies that the man's soul has gone to the god Bhagavantaru and is no longer in need of food, while if a crow or kite eats the food they know that the man's *jiv* entered

1. *Dapram* is a thick sauce of dhal and ground spices.

a crow or a kite, and if it is devoured by a dog, that the *jiv* entered a dog.

The bathing and washing after all ceremonies connected with the disposal of the dead has evidently the purpose of removing pollution contracted through the contact with death. The idea of magical contagion is otherwise not strongly developed among the Chenchus, but here the thought seems to persist that all persons, who took part in the funeral ceremony, must cleanse themselves before returning to their houses and resuming their normal lives. But a death is not followed by a formal period of pollution which necessitates the observance of taboos by the members of the household.

We will see in Chapter XXIII that the Chenchu's conception of the fate of the soul after death is fairly vague, but it can be said that there is a general belief in the powers which the dead can exercise in either helping or harming their kinsmen left behind in this life.

PART V

LAW

CHAPTER XX

PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

THE PROPERTY of the Chenchus is clearly divisible into two categories: the hunting and collecting grounds which are owned communally and the moveable property consisting of clothes, implements, household goods and cattle belonging to individual men and women. Until quite recently the most valuable property of the Chenchus was the land on which they lived, but this has been taken over as ' Reserved State Forest ' by the Forest Department, which recognizes no individual or communal ownership of the land, and the Chenchus are thus, at least theoretically, deprived of their old right. This development has revolutionized the legal status of the Chenchu and nowadays he is only tolerated, where he was once the undisputed lord. For the moment, however, we will disregard this comparatively recent development and describe the system of property rights in the land as it has existed for centuries and indeed still exists in the eyes of the Chenchu, who finds it impossible to understand that the forests which have always been the home and inalienable possession of his forefathers should now no longer be his own.

We have seen in Chapter XII that each village community possesses a certain tract of land, which is the common property of its members. The boundaries are clearly defined and recognised by the Chenchus of the neighbouring groups, while they are jealously guarded against infringement by members of the other communities. These boundaries follow natural features of the countryside, running along rivers, valleys and ridges, but in places where no such feature is available, specially large trees or boulders are utilized as landmarks. Each tract now bears the name of the permanent settlement of its owners and the Chenchu speaks of Irla Penta land or Medimankal land as denoting the tract which belongs to one of those villages.

As we find them today, the individual tracts vary very much in size, but since we know that certain villages near the cart track, as for instance Pullaipalli and Rampur, have been founded within the memory of this generation, we may presume that in the old times the land was more evenly distributed among the inhabitants of the plateau. The scanty data which we are still able to gather from the Chenchus as to former conditions indicate that in the old days, the individual tracts were larger, each probably consisting of one whole ridge and

were owned jointly by the members of several local groups, which moved freely within the boundaries of this territory; moreover, it seems likely that the members of these local groups within one tract of land belonged mainly to one clan. Thus the whole ridge with the villages Sangrigundal, Medimankal, Boramacheruvu, Appapur and Pullaipalli, appears to have comprised one tract, divided by deep valleys from the ridge of Irla Penta in the south-west, and the ridges of Malapur and Sarlapalli in the north-east. As the Chenchus became more settled and learnt to build permanent dwellings, they may have divided the land between the various local groups, which then developed into village communities. This would perhaps account for the frequent inter-village migrations which even today are common occurrences within these major territorial divisions.

The Chenchus declare that in the old days relations between neighbouring groups were often strained and that most of the quarrels were due to the members of one group trespassing on another's hunting and collecting grounds. Any encroachment on the land of the neighbouring group was fiercely resented and offenders risked being shot by the lawful proprietors of the land. A wounded animal crossing a boundary, however, was considered the property of the hunter, who under such circumstances was permitted to pursue his prey and to carry the flesh back over the boundary into his own land.

Even in these days, when the punishment for infringement of a neighbour's land is no longer so drastic, the boundaries are usually respected. Those caught collecting roots or fruits on the land of another village are reprimanded by the owners, who may appropriate the ill-gotten gains. On a journey, however, a Chenchu may collect enough food for his immediate needs on any of the lands *en route*, but he is not allowed to carry any of the produce collected over the boundary.

We have seen already that membership of the village-community, which we described as the group in joint possession of an individual tract of land, can be acquired in two different ways. A Chenchu may be born into the community to which his father and grandfather belonged or, raised in his mother's village, he may have acceded to the joint ownership in the land through his matrilineal descent. Thus ownership in land may be established through either the male or the female line and this potential ownership entitles a man to hunt and collect in the lands of both parents. Living in his father's group he has a right to his father's ancestral lands as well as those of his mother's kin; likewise, if inhabiting his mother's village, his inheritance is not only the land pertaining thereto, but also that of his father's village. Moreover marriage initiates a man into the freedom of the land of his wife's group, while she gains the corresponding right to the fruits of her husband's lands, a right which persists even in the event of his death.

and her eventual return to her own village community.

The Chenchus recognize no individual proprietorship in land, nor do they recognize any individual right on fruit-bearing trees. Even the bananas planted by the father of the present *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu do not rank as his son's property, but are the heritage of the whole community and the fruit is shared by all the members of the group. Quite a different attitude is adopted, however, towards the small quantities of millet or maize grown by some Chenchus during the rains. These crops are considered the personal and unrestricted property of those by whom they were planted, but as soon as the crops are reaped the ground on which they were cultivated reverts to the community.

Although all land is a communal possession, there is a very pronounced conception of individual property. The Chenchu considers that labour expended on any product creates a right entitling the labourer to unrestricted ownership, though that same product as long as it lies fallow is the communal property of the village on whose land it flourishes. Thus roots and fruits which a man or woman collects are transformed by labour from communal to individual property. Similarly animals killed in the chase become the property of the hunter, though there is usually a tacit understanding among men out hunting together that all spoils should be shared.

The same principle applies to the ownership of personal property, such as weapons, tools or household goods. A man is the exclusive owner of the bows and arrows which he has manufactured, or the utensils which he has purchased. Often when collecting specimens for my ethnographic collection, I was told that a particular object could not be sold, whatever price I offered, since its owner was away from home. Even a father will not give away anything belonging to his absent son, be it but an arrow and the price offered evidently many times its value.

In the matter of individual property men and women possess equal capabilities, although the position of a wife in regard to the household goods is nominally inferior to that of the husband. Complete agreement on this point, however, is not forthcoming from the Chenchus, for while some men assert that all household goods including digging-sticks belong to the husband, others are less emphatic in denying feminine rights in family property. When I asked Gangaru (Tokal) of Boramacheruvu, whether the grinding-mill in his house belonged to him or to his wife Gengi, he answered that it belonged to both of them in common, "for what difference does it make, whether it belongs to her or to me?"

Some women own buffaloes presented to them by their parents, either on marriage or at some later date, and these as well as any ornaments and utensils which were acquired from their parents are con-

sidered their personal property. There is no definite rule as to which marriage partner lays claim to the household goods in cases of separation, but since the rôle of one is generally that of a deserter, the question rarely becomes a practical problem, possession among the Chenchus being nine-tenths of the law.

There are no hard and fast rules of inheritance, and this is probably due to the paucity of the Chenchus' material possessions which until recently hardly constituted anything inheritable. Here once more there is a wide gulf between what the Chenchus say and what actually takes place when any property has to be divided. Some men told me that after a man's death all his property falls to his eldest son and failing sons to his brother's sons, but in the actual cases which I investigated, the property was fairly equally divided between all children, the daughters having received their share during the father's life-time.

Those men who own no cattle have little to leave. There is usually an axe, a knife, and a digging stick, as well as a few minor articles which the sons share according to their needs. If all the sons are young, the eldest will take most of the implements, but should he be already married and provided with knife and axe, these effects will be acquired by a younger brother. A widow with young children, continuing to live in the house of her deceased husband, will take over the household goods, but she is not considered the absolute owner, nor is she free to negotiate their disposal. This became evident when I tried to buy a honey basket from Vidama (Tokal) of Malapur, which had belonged to her late husband. At first she seemed inclined to sell, but on consulting her married son, who at once vetoed the bargain, she stoutly refused even to discuss the matter. If a wife predeceases her husband, the ornaments which she acquired from her parents are divided among her daughters, or failing daughters among her sons, but those ornaments she received from her husband revert to him, becoming once more his property, which he may dispose of as he pleases. For instance, on the death of his first wife, Lingaru (Sigarlu) of Sarlapalli (House 4) gave the valuable gold ear-ornaments which he had bought her to his second wife and on her decease to his third wife, but on the death of the third wife, instead of giving them to his fourth wife, he presented them to his daughter by his first wife.

With the introduction of cattle Chenchu culture has been augmented by a form of property which should enhance the importance of the rules of inheritance. But as yet no definite code regarding the disposal of cattle has been evolved and it is only from concrete cases that we can gather the Chenchus' attitude to this question; it appears that a man's cattle is generally divided among the sons, the elder son receiving a slightly larger share. Thus Lingaru (Sigarlu) of Sarlapalli told me, that on the death of his grandfather, who was very

rich, the three sons divided the cattle almost equally, the eldest taking one buffalo more than the other two brothers. Lingaru himself also used to be very rich and when his daughter married he gave her some cattle; some time later he gave his son several buffaloes, but both he and his children lost their animals. He says that after his death his only two remaining buffaloes will go to his son, but his daughter is doing her best to persuade her father to give one of them to her during his life-time.

In Pulajelma live the two widows of Guruvaru (Tokal) of Pullai-palli. At the time of his death Guruvaru owned one buffalo-cow, which was taken by the first wife and her son, but when this cow had a calf, the calf was given to the second wife, who also has a son. The first wife's eldest living son has since married, and he and his mother, who has two smaller children are to all intents and purposes partners in the ownership of the buffaloes, which have now increased to two cows and four calves.

Papama of Irla Penta (House 11) has three buffaloes, which she received from her father on her marriage to Kanaru, who owned no cattle. Papama has no son living and she says that when she dies the buffaloes will go to her brother Yidgaru, the *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu, and not to her daughters. If one of her sons had lived, he would have inherited the buffaloes at her death, but her daughters cannot inherit the cattle, although she might present her married daughters with gifts during her life-time. Since it is more than likely that one of her younger daughters will marry her brother's son, the buffaloes will not be entirely lost to her children.

The case of the late *peddamanchi* of Irla Penta affords another example for the division of cattle among both sons and daughters, for not only Guruvaru (Nimal), the present *peddamanchi* of Irla Penta, but also his younger brother and sister received shares of their father's large herd.

In the absence of any strict laws of inheritance, the Chenchus seem to depend on their sense of a fair deal effecting an equal distribution among all the children; although theoretically daughters have no proper status as heirs in questions of personal property, they receive their share as a *donatio inter vivos*.

In the rare event of a man or woman dying childless, personal property is said to pass to the nearest blood relations in the male line, but I believe we may safely assume, that if the deceased had resided among his mother's kin, his maternal relations would acquire his belongings with the possible exception of his cattle.

Houses embody no particular value in the eyes of the Chenchu, and though a widow will continue to live in her late husband's house, the house of a deceased relative will not be occupied by others, but will

be left to decay in the face of the elements.

The general attitude to property and the question of inheritance confirm much what we have already observed in Part III. The customary division of property acts as further proof for the fundamental equality of men and women, although theoretically men appear more privileged, while the rules in regard to the ownership of land emphasize the importance of descent through the female line. The fact that the laws of inheritance accord little significance to primogeniture is completely consistent with other aspects of Chenchu culture and tallies with the customs concerning the succession of the *peddamanchi*.

CHAPTER XXI

BREACHES OF LAW AND CUSTOM

THE CHENCHUS' present reaction to breaches of custom and law undoubtedly differs from their attitude of fifty or a hundred years ago. For in olden times the Chenchus were practically an autonomous group and the only sanction for unlawful behaviour was that meted out by the members of the community, while today any serious offence, such as homicide, involves them in conflict with an outside authority. Although interference by the police in Chenchu affairs has been rare, the few cases when men have been prosecuted for the illicit distillation of mohua liquor have apparently inspired the Chenchus with an unreasonable fear of the police authorities. Time after time they assured me that the use of violence in the settlement of quarrels and the administration of corporal punishment by the village elders were things of the past for, as they said, "the police would come and catch us, if they heard of any disturbance." These assertions, clearly aimed at convincing me of their perfect orderliness and strict adherence to all laws issued by the authorities, are certainly to be taken *cum grano salis*, but they seem to indicate that of late Chenchu justice has undergone certain modifications.

We must therefore distinguish between the treatment of offences against tribal law as the Chenchus believe it to have existed in former generations and that which prevails at the present time. Moreover in judging the reactions to criminal behaviour accredited by tradition, allowance must be made for the fact that it is the ideal of the law which has been remembered rather than its concrete application.

Before we discuss the various forms of breaches of law and the reactions they provoke, it is necessary to recognize the general principle underlying Chenchu justice. Every infringement of the established order gives rise to two sentiments on the part of the community: anger at the disturbance created by the offender, which may result in immediate infliction of corporal punishment; and the desire to re-establish the disrupted harmony and to settle the question in a manner which precludes any repetition of the incident.

There is no crime in Chenchu society which cannot be expiated and the customary manner of atonement for a violation of the law is the feasting of the responsible men of the community. The gathering together of elders is essential for rectifying the evil consequences of an

offence and such a gathering must invariably be accompanied by a feast at the expense of the culprit. The Chenchu may talk of "fining" an offender, but that does not mean that a fine is paid to those who came to harm by his unlawful act, but that the culprit must pay for food or liquor to feast the elders forming the council. It is really the feast in itself,—with the eating and drinking together of plaintives and accused,—which restores the social equilibrium and signifies the condonation of the offence.

Councils are attended by elders of all kin-groups involved in a crime or conflict and the *peddamanchi* of their respective villages; it is also usual for each group to bring a few strong young men to lend weight to their argument should tempers rise. The council is generally held in the village of the accused, who must provide food for the assembled elders. Should he refuse to do so, however, the elders will seize any calf or goat which he may happen to possess, slaughtering the goat on the spot or bartering the calf for grain. It is said that in the old days an offender against tribal law had to give up part of the mohua flowers which he had collected and to entertain the elders with liquor. This perhaps accounts for the custom of holding councils preferably in the mohua season.

Once the feast has taken place, the crime is blotted out and the culprit resumes his normal place in society. Should the original offence have created a *fait accompli*, as for instance the abduction of another man's wife, the existing situation is thereby recognized by the elders and henceforth considered as legal. Compensation is conceded to the aggrieved husband only if he spent a considerable sum on his wedding, in which case his rival may be asked to refund the expenses. Chenchu justice does not provide any material compensation for "alienation of affection" or "mental anguish" but the luckless husband seeks comfort in the liquor distilled by his successor.

Gatherings of *peddamanchi* and elders are no common occurrence; for self-reliance of the individual is one of the cardinal principles of the Chenchu's sense of justice. As long as he is able to safeguard his own interests, he does not bring his grievances before a council. Thus, for example, a duped husband who is strong enough to give his wife's lover a sound beating will make no appeal for intervention, but a weak man may call together the *peddamanchi* and elders to help him settle his quarrel. True as this may be today, it was probably even truer in the old times when men were quick to draw their bows and to revenge an injury with a fast flying arrow. It is said, that in such cases of rough and ready justice the murderer was reprimanded, and though no retribution was sought for the action, self-recrimination for too hasty a temper sometimes resulted in suicide.

Boundary disputes and quarrels over women were two of the chief

causes that in the old days gave rise to homicide, but when a feud between two groups lasted over a long period peace was re-established through the intervention of the old men of a neutral group. It appears that no case of murder or manslaughter has occurred on this side of the Kistna within the memory of the present generation, but even should a Chenchu kill a fellow tribesman, I wonder whether it would become known; for the Chenchus themselves would probably do their best to hush up the crime rather than involve the whole community in police enquiries and a trial in some distant and strange court. Owing to this attitude it is difficult to ascertain what penalty used to be incurred by a homicide not vindicated as a legitimate act of justice.

Few offences call for punishment by the community as a whole, but all my informants were emphatic in their assertions that the breach of the law of clan-exogamy is always severely punished by the whole community. In their father's days, they said, a man and a woman committing clan-incest were both killed with arrows and even now the guilty couple would be driven from the village and boycotted by the whole tribe. This I was told in the first weeks of my stay among the Chenchus, who one and all pretended that they had never even heard of a concrete case of such a dreadful crime.

A few weeks later, however, I discovered that several unions between men and women of the same clan had occurred both in the last and the present generation, and that only a few months ago the elopement of a girl with a man of her own clan had created a scandal, widely discussed all over the upper plateau. It would be difficult to furnish a better demonstration of the gulf between the theory and the practical application of tribal law than the example afforded by this case, and the interesting reaction of public opinion as a whole deserves to be cited in full.

The main parties involved were Yembi (Nimal), the daughter of Vidama (Tokal) of Malapur (House 3), an exceptionally pretty girl of about seventeen, Guruvaru (Nimal), a young man of Irla Penta, his mother Beyama (Medimankal House 6), who is the sister of Vidama, and Guruvaru (Tokal) of Pulajelma (House 8), who is the son of the widow Malli (Menlur). Some years ago Yembi was married to Guruvaru (Tokal) of Pulajelma, but at that time she was not yet mature and she therefore continued to live with her mother in her home village Malapur. Guruvaru (Tokal) was a little older than Yembi and as he grew up he entered into a union with a young widow, Gengi (Sigarlu), who already had two children by her first husband and stood to Guruvaru in the relation of 'little mother'; *i.e.* she was, although no blood-relation of Guruvaru, of the next generation older. When the time came for Yembi to go and live with her husband she refused, not because he already had a wife and she would therefore enter his house

as second wife, but on the grounds that the first wife stood to Guruvaru in the relation of 'little mother.' Whether this was the real reason is doubtful, however, for Guruvaru (Tokal) has a bad limp and is not in the least attractive. Thus Yembi refused to go to Pulajelma and continued to stay in Malapur even after puberty. Then, one day in the mohua season Guruvaru (Nimal), a handsome young man of Irla Penta, the son of Yembi's mother's elder sister, came on a visit to Malapur and although he and Yembi were 'brother and sister' in the classificatory sense, they fell in love. Within a short time they became lovers and fearing detection eloped to Irla Penta. In spite of the scandal Guruvaru's mother condoned the offence of her only son and sheltered the lovers in her house, but Yembi's relations in Malapur were furious and her nominal husband Guruvaru (Tokal) swore to fine his rival; for Yembi, who had refused to live with him, had now laid herself open to persecution by running away with a classificatory brother.

All this had occurred a few months before my arrival on the plateau and the varying attitude of those with whom I discussed the case was significant. At first all my informants tried to hush up the scandal, since apparently they considered it a most disgraceful event, which should be concealed from outsiders. In Pulajelma, where I began my inquiries, I was told that Guruvaru (Tokal) had a 'divorced' first wife, but no indication was given as to the actual happenings, and in Malapur the name of Yembi was withheld altogether when I took down the names of Vidama's other children. It was only in Boramacheruvu, while compiling the genealogy of the *peddamanchi*'s wife, who is also of Nimal clan, that I stumbled on the incestuous union between Yembi and Guruvaru. When questioned the men of Boramacheruvu were unanimous in expressing the greatest indignation and explained that Guruvaru and Yembi would not escape lightly. They assured me that the *peddamanchi* and elders of all neighbouring villages would come together and try the case. Guruvaru would be fined forty rupees, for which he would have to take a credit from a *banya*, and the culprits would be forced to separate; should they remain obdurate, they would be beaten till they gave way and Guruvaru paid the fine. The men of Boramacheruvu said that they were only waiting for the mohua season, which is considered the best time for holding a trial, and then they would all proceed to wherever Guruvaru and Yembi were staying and make them pay heavily for their defiance of tribal law. But even now, they explained, the position of the youthful offenders was not enviable, for they were practically social outcastes; no Chenchu would eat with them or even allow them to take fire from his hearth and the same ban would be imposed on Guruvaru's mother if she gave her son and daughter-in-law shelter.

About a month later the men of Boramacheruvu accompanied me

on a tour to Sangrigundal, the hot weather settlement of Medimankal, and here we discovered Guruvaru and Yembi living in a house next to that of Guruvaru's mother Beyama, who is the sister of the old *peddamanchi* of Medimankal. The men of Medimankal, though slightly embarrassed when discussing the whole matter, adopted a nonchalant attitude and said that they really did not mind Guruvaru and Yembi living amongst them and that the young couple suffered no social disabilities, but mixed freely with the rest of the community. When I sounded the *peddamanchi* on the prospective trial, he remarked that nobody would bother Guruvaru and Yembi,—‘since he allowed them to live with his group, why should others raise objections?’ As the brother of Beyama he sided with his sister's son and tried to minimize the gravity of the offence, while all the time protesting that in the old days such endo-clan unions never occurred. Beyama and Guruvaru seem to feel safer among the Medimankal people than in Guruvaru's own village of Irla Penta, and they are probably quite welcome in the group, because Beyama is rich and owns four buffaloes, which means milk for all the small children, while none of the other families of Medimankal have any cattle.

My friends of Boramacheruvu felt a little ashamed of having urged so strongly the imminence of the trial while in reality there seemed hardly any probability of such an event and they finally admitted, that since the *peddamanchi* of Medimankal had condoned the offence by allowing the pair to live in his village, no action was likely to be taken; the only people now in a position to take up the matter and to fine Guruvaru were the relations of Yembi. But when I went to Malapur, I could find no indication or willingness for such a step, and when Guruvaru (Nimal), who is Yembi's father's brother, married in Boramacheruvu (cf. p. 138) Yembi was even invited to the feast, but did not bring her husband. The only people still clamouring for a trial are those of Pulajelma, who apparently cannot forgive Yembi for her refusal to live in their village with her first husband. But the people in Malapur say that there can be no question of compensation, for Guruvaru (Tokal), who still maintains his union with his ‘little mother’ and even has a child by her, spent nothing on his marriage to Yembi.

Thus Guruvaru and Yembi have their own way; they will undoubtedly live together in peace for the time being, though complications will arise when they have children. Some men thought that their children could not be accepted as proper members of the Nimal clan, and although others did not go so far all agreed that they would have difficulty in finding marriage-partners; they might, however, be made members of a new clan in the same manner as the offspring of an incestuous union had become the founder of the Eravalu clan (cf. p. 93).

Fortunately we have not to rely on these suppositions to envisage the fate of offspring from an endo-clan union, but are able to observe the results through the direct medium of a concrete case. For the parents of Lingaru (Tokal), who now lives in Boramacheruvu (House 3), were both members of the Tokal clan. His mother Guruvama, the elder sister of the *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu, did not marry immediately she became mature, but had an intrigue with Gangaru (Tokal) of Appapur (House 3), who stood to her in the relationship of a classificatory brother's son, *i.e.* she addressed him as *aludu*, from which it is to be deduced that he could have married her daughter. When this liaison became known, the people of Appapur and Boramacheruvu were exceedingly angry and the offenders fled from their villages and lived by themselves in the jungle. After three years, when their son Lingaru was quite small Guruvama returned with the child to Boramacheruvu, while Gangaru went to live in Appapur. Shortly after this Guruvama died and Lingaru was brought up by his maternal grandparents and on their death by his maternal uncle, the present *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu.

Lingaru is now well over twenty, but he cannot find a wife and the people of Boramacheruvu, who are very sorry for him and treat him like any other member of the community, say that this is due to his descent. The difficulty becomes apparent if we turn to page 117 and study the manner in which he addresses the various young girls of his own generation; they are, either through his mother or his father, all his classificatory sisters and therefore he cannot marry any of them. Since Chenchu ideas on customary behaviour are fairly flexible, Lingaru could probably overcome this handicap if he were a man of energetic and strong character, but as it is he is rather shy and seems to have an inferiority complex, probably born of his social disability.

Lingaru's father, however, suffers in no way from the breach of law committed in his youth. After Guruvama's death he married again and lives now in Appapur with his wife and three children. Thus it is Lingaru, the son, who alone bears the brunt of his parents' behaviour and from this it would appear that social disabilities are rather the automatic consequence of a violation of law than the penalty for personal guilt.

That endo-clan unions, although strongly disapproved by public opinion, are not as rare as the Chenchus would like it believed is shown by still another case, which occurred some years ago in Appapur. Merkal Guruvaru's brother, Guruvaru (Tokal), was first married to Yenkati (Kurumavalu) from the other side of the Kistna, but when Lingi, the daughter of his father's father's brother, became a widow he had an affair with her and sent away his first wife. The people of Appapur strongly disapproved of his behaviour, but there was appar-

ently no question of expelling him from the village, for he took Lingi into his house and after some time they had a child. However, not only he but also Lingi and the child died soon afterwards and their untimely death was generally considered as just retribution for their crime.

The fact that not one of these breaches of tribal law drew punishment on the heads of the offenders stands in curious contrast to the repeated assertions of my informants, who were quite definite on the absolute unlawfulness of endo-clan unions. It would almost appear that there is at present no authority to enforce the observance of tribal law, and we are therefore confronted with the question whether this lack of authority is a recent development or whether it portrays an element inherent in Chenchu culture. From the tales of olden times, when offenders, it is said, were shot or beaten it would seem that breaches of law and custom were then dealt with much more severely, although punishment was presumably rather the outcome of the immediate anger on the part of the members of the community than of any legal procedure. Even the assemblies of elders must have had the character of informal councils in which current public opinion played a greater rôle than the strictly legal aspect of the situation. Owing to the great economic independence of the Chenchu it is probable that the individual has always been the master of his own actions and less fettered by law and conventions than the people of most other races. On the other hand he can never have been entirely oblivious of public approval, for when each group jealously guarded its hunting and collecting grounds it must have been imperative for a man to be on good terms with at least one of the groups with which he was connected by bonds of blood or marriage.

Certain crimes common in more highly developed societies, are practically unknown among Chenchus. They do not steal from one another and I did not succeed even in obtaining statements as to the procedure that would be adopted in a case of theft. In former times there was certainly little that one Chenchu could steal from another, but nowadays there are articles such as knives, ornaments, and occasionally even small sums of money which might be coveted by less prosperous members of the community. Yet, I have never heard of any property disappearing under doubtful circumstances, nor was anything stolen from me during the six months which I spent in Chenchu villages. In logical consequence of the Chenchus' economic system disputes over property are rare occurrences, and even questions of inheritance are decided privately and apparently never brought before a council of elders.

The subject which causes most friction in Chenchu society and which leads most frequently to bickerings and quarrels is the relations between man and woman. Disputes over matrimonial matters, cases of adultery and elopement as well as the refusal of a girl to go to her

husband's house or of a man to stay with his wife, are nowadays the only occasions on which councils of *peddamanchi* and elders meet. In the old days, it is said, an adulteress and her lover were tied to trees and beaten, but now such measures are no longer adopted. If a wife commits adultery and remains with her husband and he is prepared to keep her in his house, the matter may still be brought before a council and then the lover may be asked to entertain the elders with liquor; if the husband refuses to forgive his wife, her lover must take her into his house even if he is already married. Under no circumstances can a woman who has left her home and settled down with a lover be compelled to return to her husband, but to legalize the new situation the seducer must provide food and drink for the elders and may be directed to refund to the husband his marriage-expenses.

Not every man whose wife elopes with a lover succeeds in obtaining the support of *peddamanchi* and elders. Thus no trial was held when Gangaru (Tokal) of Boramacheruvu ran away with Gengi, the wife of Potaru (Menlur), and Potaru's claim for compensation was never conceded. Public opinion was apparently in favour of Gengi, since Potaru had been ill and of unsettled mind for a long time and was unable to take care of her and the children. During the mohua flower season following the elopement Gangaru made liquor for the men of Boramacheruvu, Appapur and Rampur, and with that the incident was closed (cf. pp. 255, 256).

The seducer of an unmarried girl who has become pregnant is usually persuaded to take her into his house. Should he refuse, he has to pay a fine which is 'eaten' by the elders, and the child is brought up by the girl's family, but belongs to the father's clan.

Councils of elders meet not only to re-establish the law but also to mediate if a man wishes to settle a question with the backing of public opinion. Bayeru (Sigarlu) of Rampur, for instance, called together the elders of the neighbouring villages in order to assert his right to marry a second wife. For some time he had carried on an intrigue with Gurvi, the daughter of Gangaru of Bikit Penta, and he wanted to take her into his house as his second wife. The girl also wished to live with him, but her father opposed the union on the grounds that his brother's daughter was Bayeru's first wife and he said, he did not like to give him his daughter as well. The elders, however, thought that there was no harm in Bayeru's marrying Gurvi and it was decided that he should be allowed to take her into his house. In the face of this concensus of opinion the parents eventually gave way and the last I heard of the matter was that Bayeru would soon marry the girl. Evidently Bayeru would not have appealed to the council, had he not known that public opinion favoured his cause and he took care that his kinsmen were well represented among those invited. In addition Bayeru is com-

paratively wealthy and no doubt his ability to feast the elders weighed greatly in his favour.

The difficulty of describing the Chenchu's attitude to law and its enforcement by penalties is due to the fact that no strict code of legal sanctions exists. The rough and ready justice meted out by the members of the community in a manner devoid of all formality is based almost entirely on the tide of public opinion arising over the individual case. Chenchus have undoubtedly a clear idea of right and wrong, but the decision of the appropriate action to be taken in the face of a breach of the law is largely left to the inspiration of the moment. However, the chances of obtaining real justice by these methods are perhaps no less than when rigid laws of foreign conception are imposed on primitive minds unable to grasp their functioning and significance.

PART VI
BELIEFS AND TRADITIONS

CHAPTER XXII

DEITIES AND SPIRITS

THE Chenchu believes in a world of invisible powers that influence human life and are accessible to the invocations and offerings of man. These powers are thought to be personal beings, but it would be a misinterpretation of Chenchu ideas, if we denominated them "supernatural." For the Chenchu seems to draw no sharp distinction between the human world and that of the gods (*devudu*) whose existence he accepts without much speculation on their origin and nature. His attitude towards the gods is characterized by an often astonishing realism, and is equally devoid of mysticism, religious fervour, or superstitious fear.

In its present form Chenchu religion, if we may use this term for an uncoordinated mass of beliefs and ritual, is no rigid theological system, but an expansive framework that constantly embraces and assimilates new objects and forms of worship. The difficulty in ascertaining the nature of the Chenchus' indigenous religious beliefs lies in the fact that with the displacement of their former language by Telugu their deities must have lost the original names and were henceforth described by Telugu terms. Thus their identity was obscured, and they have gradually become confounded with certain deities of the Hindu pantheon. Moreover increasing contact with populations of the plains has led the Chenchus to adopt the cult of various deities of rustic Telugu religion. It is impossible to state when exactly this process began, but such a point has now been reached that many of the deities worshipped by the lower Telugu castes and the Lambadis of the neighbourhood are now recognized and sometimes propitiated by the Chenchus. The cult of these deities, however, only thinly veils the original Chenchu beliefs, which clearly discernible beneath the veneer of Hinduism have not yet lost their importance.

The most systematic approach to Chenchu religion might be to penetrate to the most ancient beliefs by a method of exclusion, *i.e.* to examine each deity with the attendant ritual and to set aside all those whose cult is evidently borrowed from the local Hindu castes. But this method, if followed in the disposition of the material, would not be conducive to clarity, and I propose therefore to adopt the contrary policy and to deal first with those aspects of Chenchu creed which appear most ancient, and then to discuss the deities of later adoption.

Garelamaisama

The cult of deities closely linked with the traditional occupation of a tribe can generally be regarded as indigenous, and since undoubtedly hunting ranks among the most ancient of Chenchu activities, great antiquity may be attributed to the belief in a deity controlling the activities of the wild animals of the forest and the luck of the chase. Among the Chenchus it is *Garelamaisama*,¹ who is accredited with these powers. No one is able to say what *Garelamaisama* looks like or where exactly she resides and, although described as a female deity, she is addressed in prayers not only as "mother," but sometimes also as "father."

When a Chenchu goes hunting, when he brings down an animal, and when he returns home with his kill he prays to *Garelamaisama*, in whose hands lie the success and failure of the chase. On leaving his village he invokes her help with a short prayer, usually couched in the following words:

"*Garelamaisama talli maku yemana durkte memu*
Garelamaisama mother our anything find we
tamaku puja sestam, talli mimida maku chana namakam
to you offering make, mother on you our much hope
*unnadi; mamida daya unchama*².
is; upon us favour bestow."

Chenchu prayers are seldom strict formulæ, but generally spontaneous variations on a traditional theme and on this occasion an offering is promised to *Garelamaisama* if she helps the hunter who puts his faith in her. The Hindi word *puja* is here used for an offering which has, as we will see presently, little in common with the *puja* of Hindus.

If the hunter is lucky and kills an animal or finds a fresh tiger's kill, which Chenchus by no means despise, he will cut off a small piece of the hind-leg and perhaps a piece of the liver, roast it on the spot, and throw it into the jungle for *Garelamaisama* saying:

"*Memu tintunam, niwu tinu*"
We eat, you eat (some too).

Later, when returning home, the successful hunter says a prayer of thanks to *Garelamaisama*:

"*Talli maku mi daya toni maku durkindi*
Mother our, your favour with us found

1. The Chenchus themselves are unable to explain this name, though *maisama* is also used in conjunction with other deities, and is commonly used to denote deity or spirit among other peoples of the Telugu country. There seems on the other hand, no Telugu or Hindi word phonetically similar to the word *garela*, although there may be a long forgotten connection with the Telugu word *gali* (wind).

2. *Unchama—unisu amma* (bestow mother).

dani gurinchi miku chana chana dandam sesta." without get not, to you very much thanks say."

With this prayer the Chenchu acknowledges that his success has been due to the favour of Garelamaisama, and he therefore tenders his thanks to her for having led the game across his path.

From this it is evident that Garelamaisama is thought to influence the results of the chase and to be in control of the wild animals. Tradition says that in the old times the Chenchus killed only male animals, for to kill a female angered Garelamaisama. If a man killed a female animal by mistake, he prayed to Garelamaisama for forgiveness lest she vented her wrath on him by withholding food from both the culprit and his family.

No part of the spoil is given to Garelamaisama if a squirrel or hare is caught by dogs, nor do the Chenchus make any offering when they are successful in fishing.

The offering of a small part of an animal killed in the chase on the very spot where it was brought down is a form of worship found among many of the most primitive tribes of the world and commonly described by ethnologists as 'primitial offering.' In essence, this offering is entirely different from the ordinary *puja* of the Hindus, and in the case of the Chenchus it must undoubtedly be considered as indigenous to their own culture. However, even in this rite the influence of Hindu ceremonial is already noticeable and sometimes the offering is made in a slightly different form. Thus I was told in Boramacheruvu that if a man was fortunate enough to shoot several pigeons,—an event which never occurred while I stayed in the village,—he would prepare some of the flesh in the same way as it is cooked for human consumption and put it down on some flat stones sacred to Garelamaisama with the following prayer:

"*Sami anta Sami devudu nivu ichina matuku pettenam*
God as much god deity you gave, so much (we) offer
devudu niku dandam."
deity to you thanks.

This food is left there for some minutes and then taken away to be eaten by the Chenchus themselves. "For we kept it before the god," they say, "that is enough, let the god eat it or not, we don't care any more." Here the common Hindu practice is followed of placing the offering in front of the deity, who is supposed to feed on its spiritual substance, while later the worshippers enjoy the material part of the food. The difference between this complicated conception of the two-fold substance of food and the simple offering of a piece of roasted flesh, which is left in the jungle and not ultimately eaten by the hunters, is striking and typical of the change that is revolutionizing Chenchu religion.

The stones which now serve as a kind of "altar" for offerings to Garelamaisama usually lie under a large tree near the village. They consist of three or four upright stones about ten to fifteen inches high and of a few flat stones, sometimes arranged in a rough semi-circle. The Chenchus themselves say that they learnt to keep such sacred stones from their neighbours of the plains, and similar arrangements of stones sacred to other deities lie all around their settlements.

Garelamaisama is not only a deity of the chase, but also of various other aspects of jungle life. She causes the flowers to blossom and the fruits to swell and ripen. Shortly before any one of the main fruits of the forest come into season, the Chenchus collect a small quantity of the half-ripened fruit and the men of the settlement place them on the flat stones sacred to Garelamaisama with the following prayer:

"*Sami tandri desa manta baga pandiala*
 God father in all the country well fruit
baga pandete miku yemana inam durkte vana kalam lo
 well ripen to you anything gift find rainy season in
epudu nividam pettam."
 then offering give.

With this prayer Garelamaisama is promised that if all fruits ripen well she will receive an offering during the rainy season, *i.e.* at the end of the main fruit season. The most remarkable feature of this prayer is that Garelamaisama is addressed as "god father," although the Chenchus are convinced that she is a woman.

As soon as the first fruits are fully ripe, again a few of the first to be plucked are placed on the altar with the prayer:

"*Sami tandri mamoku maku seringa¹ durkendi*
 God father blessing to us well find
chettu yekute para kota vadu."
 tree climb fall down do not.

Here Garelamaisama is called upon to watch over the Chenchus while they climb the trees to gather the ripe fruit and to protect them against slipping or falling.

These first fruit offerings are performed with the berries of *Buchanania latifolia*, the fruits of wild mango, tamarind and several other kinds of fruits eaten by the Chenchus, and when the first mohua flowers are collected, some are cooked on a hearth close to the sacred place and then put down on the stones in the same manner. But it is noteworthy that no offering of roots or herbs are ever tendered to Garelamaisama. The details of these rites, in which all male members of a settlement take part, do not follow a uniform pattern and it seems that

1. The meaning of the words *mamoku* and *seringa*, which do not seem to occur in ordinary Telugu, is doubtful.

in some places the first fruit offerings are altogether omitted. Growing contact with the plains people has had a disintegrating effect on Chenchu beliefs, and some of the old practices are gradually disappearing.

Garelamaisama is invoked not only when the first mohua flowers fall to the ground, but also on the day when the first mohua liquor of the year has been distilled. Then the *peddamanchi* and one or two other men pour some liquor over the sacred stones and say:

"*Memu ipudu adutunam talli maku yemi tapu kopum*
 We now dance mother to us any fault angry
ravadu mamida daya undala."
 do not become on us favour bestow.

In this prayer Garelamaisama is petitioned to prevent man from committing acts of drunken violence during the dancing which follows most drinking parties, and this may lead us to believe that Garelamaisama is thought of as the deity who controls not only the wild life of the forest, but also the behaviour of man. Although Chenchus today rarely make statements to this effect, the old stories afford many examples of the protection which Garelamaisama extends to those in need and in danger. In these stories she appears invariably in the likeness of an old woman who helps men by miraculous means (cf. pp. 202, 204).

There are indeed few critical occasions when a prayer to Garelamaisama will not prove beneficial: in cases of difficult labour, as we have already seen, her help is invoked when all other means and powers fail; in sickness too Garelamaisama's assistance is sought, though less frequently than that of other deities, and she is apparently even believed to exercise a certain power over the souls of those men who after this life turn into evil ghosts (*dayam*); for it is on Garelamaisama that the Chenchu calls when such ghosts trouble the habitations of the living (cf. p. 195). While all personal names are derived from the names of gods and goddesses, no child is ever called after Garelamaisama; for, as I was repeatedly assured, it would die if given this name.

We might be inclined to think that the Chenchus would have a fairly clear conception of a deity with such prominent functions as Garelamaisama, but of her origin, character and attributes they protest complete ignorance. Occasionally it is stated that Garelamaisama is greater than the other gods, but most men contest this and say that Bhagavantaru, the sky god, is higher than all other deities, but that Garelamaisama ranks immediately after Bhagvantaru. The fullest statements on Garelamaisama were those made by men of Nagaluti, a village on the southern side of the Kistna in Kurnool District, where the Chenchus sacrifice to Garelamaisama after a success-

ful chase in the same way as in Hyderabad. They told me that Garelamaisama lives in the jungle and only comes to the villages to look after the people ; they added that Garelamaisama is really like two deities, one male god and one female god, but that these have both the same name. This was probably an attempt to express Garelamaisama's dual personality, which is already indicated by the alternating form of address of " mother " and " father. " It will be explained in Chapter XXXIII that the present aspect of Garelamaisama may be due to the impact of a culture with a predominance of female deities on a primitive supreme being or perhaps only a powerful silvan god indigenous to Chenchu culture. I do not believe, however, that many Chenchus are conscious of Garelamaisama's dual character ; they think of Garelamaisama as a powerful deity, whom they seldom picture in such anthropomorphic terms that any question of sex comes into their minds. But when interrogated as to whether Garelamaisama is a god or a goddess, they invariably describe her as a female deity and stories tell of Garelamaisama appearing in the guise of an old woman.

In contrast to many other deities Garelamaisama is considered a benevolent being who, if appropriately worshipped, gives men luck in the chase, a plenty of edible fruits and protection from evils. The Chenchu believes that if he prays to her, Garelamaisama will answer his prayers by actively rendering him aid, while to most other deities he only prays that they may leave him in peace, avoid his house and village and abstain from afflicting him with disease.

Bhagavantaru

The other important god of benevolent character is Bhagavantaru. The name is evidently the same as that of the mighty Hindu god Bhagavan, but it must not be assumed that the Chenchu thinks of Bhagavantaru in terms similar to those of Hindu theology. It would, indeed, be most misleading to conclude from the Chenchu's present nomenclature for gods and godlings that his religious conceptions run on the same lines as those of rural Hinduism.

Although doubtful as to the abode of most other gods, the Chenchus are sure that Bhagavantaru resides in the sky. They say that they are not certain whether he can see them from there, but their prayers clearly reveal the conviction that Bhagavantaru can help them and protect them against dangers. In the morning when leaving for the jungle they pray :

*“Sami Bhagvanta, poduna lesi memu aruwiki potunam,
God Bhagvanta, morning get up we jungle go,
maku manchiga mala tiska ochi illu cherula.”
to us well again bring come house reach*

Here the meaning is clearly that Bhagavantaru should protect them when they go to the jungle in the morning and allow them a safe return to their houses. There is no corresponding prayer in the evening before they go to sleep ; they just say "*Sami, Naraina, Bhagvanta*," and lie down.

As the god of the sky Bhagavantaru is responsible for thunder and rain, and when there is a thunderstorm the Chenchus pray :

*"Bhagvantaru devudu, memu kinda unamu, ni mida unavu,
Bhagvantaru god, we down are you above are,
memu badram maku kaparu, kaega undala."
we safe us take care, safe may be.*

The idea of creation is foreign to the Chenchu, who accepts the world as he finds it without questioning how it came into being. No deity is therefore attributed with the making of the earth or any living creature. There is, however, the belief that the soul (*jiv*) of every individual comes from Bhagavantaru and returns to him at death ; but Bhagavantaru may refuse to take back the *jiv* of a man whose deeds in this life were evil, and such a *jiv* turns into a *dayam*, a malignant ghost (cf. p. 194).

Bhagavantaru is seldom worshipped with offerings ; he is never given any of the first fruits or a share in the spoils of the chase, but when a couple remains childless for several years, they will pray to him for offspring and promise to give him a large offering of rice and other eatables if he grants their wish.

We cannot tell whether the Chenchus always believed in a benevolent god residing in the sky, whom they later identified with Bhagavan, or whether only one of the aspects of a supreme deity, whose personality perhaps still persists in the figure of Garelamaisama, became identified with Bhagavan and subsequently turned into a separate god. Neither process is improbable, and it would by no means be the first time that a primitive race brought in touch with an extensive and highly developed hierarchy of gods has invested some of their own conceptions with new shapes and names.

Garelamaisama and Bhagavantaru have certain features in common and they definitely stand out from among all the other deities worshipped by the Chenchus. They are both considered beneficent deities controlling the forces of nature and human life, and although Bhagavantaru lives in the sky and Garelamaisama in the jungle, they are both in some way omnipresent and always within the reach of man, while other deities have definite dwelling places and only occasionally visit other localities. As in the case of Garelamaisama, no child is ever named after Bhagavantaru, although it is he who is supposed to bestow children on man.

The attitude of the Chenchu towards these two deities is difficult to describe. It is certainly not one of fear, but neither is it one of fervent reverence. He feels himself dependent on them without worrying, however, about the exact nature and origin of this dependency. Although the old stories tell how Garelamaisama looked after men who placed their faith in her, there is no mythology to explain the relations between deities and men in the beginning of the world and no clear conception regarding a divine sanction of the moral code. The Chenchu certainly believes that the gods are not unconcerned with the morals of humans, but the concrete expressions of this belief are few. When Guruvaru of Appapur died prematurely after committing clan-incest, his death was considered just retribution, but as a rule it is not believed that Garelamaisama or Bhagavantaru will spontaneously mete out punishment for individual violations of tribal law. They may, however, grant a prayer for the chastisement of an offender and consequently inflict him with illness, and here we come to a certain difference between the two main deities of the Chenchus: while Garelamaisama may punish a wrong-doer by striking him with illness, Bhagavantaru is never the bringer of disease, either he leaves a man unscathed or kills him outright by removing his *jiv*.

The neglect of her cult, the failure to perform the first fruit offerings, however, induces Garelamaisama to withhold the fruits of the forest from the Chenchu, and it is believed that in old times she exacted heavy penalties for the killing of female animals. But the Chenchu does not express himself easily on abstract matters and in everyday life there are few concrete cases when a crime is so swiftly followed by misfortune that it may unquestionably be ascribed to the wrath of a deity and the lack of belief in the divine sanction of moral laws may therefore be only apparent. The Chenchu undoubtedly believes that Garelamaisama and Bhagavantaru watch over him closely and he expects their help and protection in his daily quest for food; at times he even prays to them for guidance in his own actions and this, together with the belief that Bhagavantaru refuses to accept the *jiv* of "bad" people in his abode (cf. p. 196), would seem to suggest that these gods are not considered altogether indifferent to human behaviour.

Lingamaya

The most popular Chenchu names are Lingaru and Lingama and the god after whom they are called is Lingamaya. Some Chenchus assert that he is the greatest god, but curiously enough this conviction finds little expression in acts of cult. To us it is clear that Lingamaya is a hypostasis of Shiva, but the Chenchu has no idea that Lingamaya means really "god of the phallus," though he knows that an idol called *lingam* is worshipped in Sri Sailam. The Chenchus of the upper Plateau

say that Lingamaya's home is on the ridge of Chandragupta, where there are still the ruins of a fort and a temple; and the Chenchus of Vatellapalli and Sarlapalli, when hunting in the vicinity, make an offering to Lingamaya in his temple in order to ensure a successful hunt. Moreover, near some settlements there are groups of small stones sacred to Lingamaya.

There can be no doubt that the cult of Lingamaya is a relatively recent addition to Chenchu culture, perhaps dating from the times when the forts on the plateau were occupied by Hindu garrisons; a cult which is ever strengthened by the annual contact with pilgrims who traverse the Chenchu country to worship Shiva and the *lingam* in his famous temple at Sri Sailam. The god whose cult is connected with a civilization so vastly superior to that of the Chenchus naturally impresses them as powerful and it is thus that Lingamaya is occasionally even described as the "highest" deity, although when questioned most Chenchus will agree that the greatest god is Bhagavantaru, with Garelamaisama ranking next. The prestige of the worshippers of Shiva lends prestige to Lingamaya, and while there is no rite or prayer peculiar to his cult, there is a tendency to transfer to Lingamaya certain acts of worship generally tendered to Garelamaisama or, to be on the safe side, to worship both gods alternatively. Gangaru of Yemlapaya whose life in recent years has been shadowed by misfortune told me that Garelamaisama is a "bad deity" because she did not care for him: when he went to the forest he never found enough food for himself and his family, and his arrows always missed the mark when he went hunting. Today he worships Lingamaya and when he kills a deer he cooks one foreleg and places it in front of Lingamaya's stones, but after a little he takes away the meat and eats it together with his family. This clearly shows how the present comparatively unfavourable position of the Chenchus has lowered their faith in their old deities, while enhancing the prestige of the gods of their Hindu neighbours, who appear rich and prosperous in their eyes. At the same time a new form of offering is taking the place of the old 'primitival offering' of the ancient hunter. The new gods get more placed upon their altar, but less 'to eat,' for in the end the devotee himself consumes the offering, while the small pieces of roasted meat thrown into the jungle for Garelamaisama at least remain there for the deity.

Potsamma

While Lingamaya is considered a benevolent god and is worshipped for the help he may render, other deities are much dreaded and only propitiated to avert the evils with which they would otherwise afflict the Chenchu. Foremost among these is Potsamma, the small-pox goddess of the Telugu country, sometimes also addressed as Ammavaru.

Unfortunately epidemics of smallpox have more than once wrought havoc among the Chenchu population and it is therefore understandable that above all else he fears the visits of Potsamma. To humour her he will now and then place some food on the stones which are sacred to her and say the following prayer:

*"Potsamma talli, tini po maku patakuseyku, maku
Potsamma mother, eat go us catch do not, we
yemi durkendi inka yemi petamu."*
anything find more something offer.

A free translation may be rendered by: "Mother Potsamma, eat of this food, but then leave us, do not attack us; if more food falls into our hands we will again offer some to you."

The object of the cult is evidently aimed at inducing the dreaded goddess to depart from the village as soon as possible, and the words of the prayers to Potsamma are couched in this way even at times when no disease ravages the village. The Chenchu is not pedantic as to the exact character of an illness, and although a disease may have nothing to do with smallpox, he often attributes it to the malignant influence of Potsamma and tries to placate her by offerings, or rather by the promise of offerings on the patient's recovery.

Potsamma is said to have a brother called Potraj, who is of a more harmless character than his sister; he is not worshipped by the Chenchus of the upper plateau, but is sometimes represented by a small stone placed next to that of Potsamma. Both Potsamma and Potraj are deities of the Telugu peasants and those Chenchus who live in their villages also worship Potraj.

Minor Deities

In addition to the gods recognized and worshipped by all Jungle Chenchus, there is a multitude of minor deities whose cult is confined to certain localities and groups. These minor deities are considered much less powerful than Bhagavantaru and Garelamaisama, but any idea of a hierarchy of gods is foreign to the mind of the Chenchu; there is no indication of any interdependence between the various gods, and no Chenchu is able to say if Bhagavantaru exercises any control over the other deities.

The majority of the minor gods and godlings can be classified under two heads: those who are believed to abide in a certain locality of the Chenchu country, and those described as 'gods of the Hindu people, living in their houses.' No traditions or legends explain the association of deities with particular villages or areas where they are worshipped today, nor is such association always of absolute permanency; for

Chenchus emigrating from their old village-land sometimes retain the cult of its local deity and introduce it into their new environment.

Typical of the local deities is Guruvappa, a god living in the region of Malapur, Appapur and Medimankal, and worshipped mainly by the people of Nimal and Tokal clan, who show a particular preference for the names Guruvaru and Guruvama. He is thought to be entirely benevolent and in times of crisis is worshipped in houses as well as at sacrificial places in the open. A prayer commonly offered to Guruvappa runs as follows:

*"Sami Guruvappa tandri pillalu mamalni kaega suskovala,
God Guruvappa father children myself safe see,
dandam."*

hail.

Two female deities believed to reside in the vicinity of Malapur are Lachamma and Vidamma, and many Nimal and Tokal women are given these names. Very occasionally they are offered some food, but their importance is small and the Chenchus have no clear conception of their attributes or character. Lachamma is presumably identical with Lakshmi, and the Chenchus make an offering to her before planting millet and Indian corn (cf. pp. 76-77). The Chenchus of Boramacheruvu invoke on certain occasions the goddess Borama, who is connected with the ruined temple near the tank and is worshipped at Sri Sailam as Braharamba devi. The local god of Irla Penta is Irlu, and it is after him that many people of that village are called Iradu (commonly pronounced Yiradu) and Irama (or Yiri). Now and then he receives food offerings, but he is not revered outside the boundaries of Irla Penta land, while Guruvappa is also worshipped in Irla Penta. Darabaya, who was described to me as 'a god like a man, and a very good man,' dwells near Sangrigundal, where a small stone image, believed to represent this god and apparently several centuries old, marks one of the main resting places of the pilgrims to Sri Sailam. The frequent Chenchu names Bayeru and Beyama are derived from this god. Ankamma is 'a very small goddess, who is not worshipped'; she resides near Vatellapalli, and although she enjoys no cult, a few Chenchus are called after her Ankaru and Ankamma.

A goddess of greater power is Ellamma, whose cult is widespread throughout Telingana. Near Tirmalapur, east of Amrabad, is a small temple devoted to Ellamma and every Wednesday the local Hindus of all castes sacrifice there. It is the Chenchus most in touch with the peasantry of the villages on the lower ledge who have adopted her cult, and these are mainly people of Menlur clan, who lived at Elpamachena and Tatigundal. Potaru of Menlur clan (cf. p. 255) told me that he had been ill for a long time, when one night Ellamma appeared

to him in a dream. She stood before him looking like a Chenchu woman and said to him: "I am on you, so you must perform a *puja* for me if you want to recover." Then she disappeared. Potaru bought rice and spices, and made an offering to Ellamma at her temple near Tirmalapur; after a short time he became much better. This is the only concrete case of a Chenchu seeing a deity that ever came to my notice, but Potaru is considered not quite normal by the other Chenchus. Potaru's children Anmi and Animagaru are so called after the god Anumantaru (Hanuman), to whom an old shrine near Elpamachena is dedicated. As a rule the Chenchus do not worship Hanuman and know nothing of his rôle in Hindu mythology, although they have learnt from the stone images at Elpamachena and Mananur that he has a monkey face and a tail.

Deities connected with a particular locality are believed to follow their worshippers when they migrate to other places. Thus once a year the Chenchus of such villages as Pulajelma perform a ceremony for Maradugu Maisama, the goddess of Maradugu, a village between Amrabad and the Dindi River. Maradugu was apparently a former centre of the Menlur people, whence many came to the upper plateau, bringing with them their local god. Maradugu Maisama was described to me by Guruvaru (Nimal) of Boramacheruvu as 'not very great and of little use to the Chenchus.' But the Pulajelma people will run no risks and they have built her a semi-circle of small stones near a path to the village. During the hot season they worship there, and after placing some food on the stones say the following prayer to avert disease:

"*Maradugu Maisama ma degra pata kadu, memu pillalu Maradugu Maisama us near come not, we children peddalu andramu¹ manchiga unde, miku ugadi² puja sestamu.*"
adults all people well be, to you Ugadi puja make.

We see from this prayer that the Chenchus of Pulajelma, far from being delighted that Maradugu Maisama followed the Menlur people to their new home, perform a special *puja* in order to divert her dangerous influence from the village.

Another village deity is Elpamachena Maisama and since Elpamachena is now deserted, she has turned her unwelcome attention to other villages. While I was in Pulajelma a young woman, the wife of Irrabaya (Sigarlu), had a miscarriage and was very ill for a day or two. Her relatives tried to discover through a method of divination, which we will describe presently, which deity was responsible for her misfortune. The first attempt indicated that Vutikanka, a malignant

1. *Andramu—Daramu.*

2. Ugadi is one of the Hindu feast days, that fall in the dry season.

deity residing near wells, had caught hold of the woman and an offering was promised to her should the patient recover. But when the woman was better, divination was repeated and this time the signs pointed towards Elpamachena Maisama as the influence responsible. A few days later Irrabaya bought one seer of rice and some dhal and assisted by Yidgaru (Tokal), his wife's father's brother, who had acted as diviner, and Lingaru (Eralavalu), performed a *puja* for Elpamachena Maisama. The place sacred to this goddess, which lies under a large tree, was cleared of grass and creepers and the stones righted; there were four upright stones at the back and three flat stones in front (Fig. 56). The upright stones were smeared with saffron in the manner customary among the local Hindus. Rice and dhal, which had been cooked near the well where Irrabaya's wife had been attacked by Elpamachena Maisama, was taken out of the pots and heaped in equal parts on the three flat stones. Then some incense was lighted and held near the stones, and when the scent filled the air first Yidgaru and then Irrabaya stood in front of the stones and with hands folded before the chest (Fig. 62) recited a long prayer full of many repetitions, of which the following is the most essential part:

"Sami talli bangar talli, baga undala, manchiga
 God mother golden mother, well may be, good
 undala, amma talli voste akerene¹ mari poala, gattere
 may be, smallpox come here back may go, indigestion
 voste akerene mari poala, urle una ammavaru voste
 come here back may go, village-in stay smallpox come
 akerene¹ undala, ikare voste yemi paida ledu. Miku
 here may be, (if) here come any gain not. To you
 memu manchiga undala sestamu. Pillene petnan mala
 we well may be make (offer). Children catch again
 inkogu pari patu vodu, karpele² no pi kuderala
 next time catch not, stomach pain may get better
 nidre poendi kuderala, dandam."
 sleep going may be better, hail.

The idea of this prayer is that the goddess should grant the people good health; should smallpox come, it shall go away, should stomach complaints come, they shall vanish; even if the smallpox goddess comes, there is nothing for her to gain in the village (*i.e.* she will find nothing); the children shall never again be afflicted with disease, all stomach complaints shall get better and the people shall enjoy sound sleep.

1. *Akerene*—*kadone*.

2. *Karpele*—*kadupulo*.

At the end of the prayer the men bowed two or three times; Irrabaya then removed all the food from the sacrificial stones and put it into three leaf-parcels one for each man to take to his house. He took care that no rice or dhal was left on the stones, because it would have been unlucky if the dogs had eaten any of the food offered to the goddess.

We have mentioned that in the first place Vutikanka was considered responsible for the miscarriage. She is the only deity,—or perhaps it would be more correct to call her an evil spirit, although the Chenchus refer to her as *devudu* and not as *dayam*,—whose existence and origin is explained by a kind of myth. Vutikanka is said to have resembled a Chenchu woman and was married to a man who in spite of her miraculous deeds never realized she was a goddess until she disappeared. The full story is given in Chapter XXV (cf. pp. 218, 219).

A deity believed to have once been an ordinary human being is Nensalamma. She is worshipped only in Pulajelma, and it is said that she was a grazier woman, who came annually to Pulajelma with her cattle and always treated the Chenchus with great kindness, giving them millet, milk and curd. So good was she that at last she turned into a goddess, and now the people place offerings on the stones sacred to her once a year and pray that she may protect the children:

“*Nensalamma devudu, ma pillalu baga undala.*”
Nensalamma deity, our children well may be.

Deities, who are known to the Chenchus, but are believed to live only in the houses of their Hindu neighbours are Balamma, Buchamma, and Mutellamma. They enjoy no cult on the part of the Chenchus, but some children are named after them Baligaru, Buchigaru and Mutaru. Peddamma is also a goddess of the plains people and mainly associated with the care of cattle; when the Lambadis who graze their herds on the upper plateau worship Peddamma, some Chenchus join in the *puja* for this goddess and semi-circles of stones sacred to her can be found near several villages.

Finally there is Gangamma, the water deity, and Chenchus when crossing the Kistna sometimes say a short prayer, asking for her protection. Like Telugu peasants they give Gangamma a kind of offering when a child's hair is cut for the first time. The cuttings are tied up with a few coins in a piece of cloth and thrown into running water with the following words:

“*Gangamma devi putgentigal¹ ni potela yesna, ma
Gangamma goddess first hair your stomach throw, our
pillalu manchiga undala.*”
children well may be.

1. *Putgentigal*—*putuventrukalu* (*putu*—birth, *ventru*—hair).

The reason for this ceremony is not clear, but since the cutting of children's hair is a fairly recent custom, the ceremony cannot be of great antiquity, and this aspect is indicated by the use of coins.

The foregoing enumeration of the deities recognized by the Chenchu is not necessarily complete, for he is broad-minded in his religious practices and whenever he encounters a deity hitherto unknown to him, he will adopt the cult in the hope of furthering his prosperity. Such additions to the Chenchu pantheon do not entail any radical change in his beliefs, for to him the minor gods mean little, although he may think it advisable to placate them from time to time.

Foremost in the Chenchu's mind stand Garelamaisama and Bhagavantaru, for their cult is closely linked with his economic and social activities and the belief in their power is reflected in stories and legends. Thus their supreme position, remains untouched by any of the new gods that crowd the ranks of the minor deities.

Concluding this chapter a word may be said about the forms of ritual. As a rule the Chenchu invokes the deities in an informal and spontaneous manner and such prayers as those quoted above may be said by any man in need of help. There are no priests and each man addresses himself to the gods as the necessity and opportunity occur. It is the individual hunter who offers part of his spoil to Garelamaisama and the individual householder who worships a deity believed to have wrought the recovery of a member of his family. Only in such cases as the offering of the first fruits to Garelamaisama the whole local group takes part in the rite and it is then the *peddamanchi* who places the fruit on the sacred stones, while his prayer is repeated by all the men present. The women watch from a short distance, for they take no active part in any sacrificial rite. Offerings of cooked rice, millet and dhal are nowadays tendered to the main deities as well as to minor gods, but animal sacrifices have no place in the ritual of the Jungle Chenchus.

The individualistic trend, so characteristic of the Chenchu's economic and social life, also pervades his religion, and with the one exception of the first fruit offering it is the individual and not the community as a whole that approaches the deity.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE SOUL AND THE CULT OF THE DEAD

THE DAILY struggle of finding sufficient food in order to keep body and soul together allows the Chenchu little time to philosophize on his place in this world and his fate when this life draws to its inevitable conclusion. Just as he never wonders how the world and the human race came into being, so he does not give much thought to the problem of what will become of him after death. But in spite of this apparent indifference he never doubts that a part of him, which we may call the soul, survives the decay of his body and continues to exist in unknown regions and circumstances with which he is not familiar. This part of man which survives death is called by the Chenchu his *jīv*, and he believes that as the *jīv* came from god into the unborn child, so it returns to god when life in the body is extinct. Here, as in certain other instances, the Chenchu says simply *sami* (god), but when pressed for a specification he declares that it is Bhagavantaru, from whom the *jīv* comes and to whom it returns. He is entirely vague as to the fate which Bhagavantaru allots to the *jīv* of the departed, but believes that the *jīv* can maintain some contact with its living relations and the places where it used to live.

Even before death the *jīv* is able to leave the body, and dreams are explained as experiences of the *jīv* who wanders about while a man sleeps. During serious illness too the *jīv* leaves the body, and then the patient becomes unconscious, but if recovery sets in the *jīv* returns. Only with death does the separation become final and then the *jīv* goes to Bhagavantaru. The Chenchus have no conception of any "journey of the dead," but vaguely believe that a man's fate in the next world is determined by his actions in this life. I was unable to find any substantiation of the idea, common among other Indian tribes, that man has more than one soul or that his spiritual substance splits at death into several parts. The funeral ceremonies and the subsequent attitude to the dead could perhaps be taken as expressions of such an idea, but it is certainly not consciously held by the Chenchus, who experience no difficulty in assuming that the *jīv* of a dead man goes to Bhagavantaru and is yet in need of the food placed on his grave.

There appears to be, however, one inconsistency in the Chenchu's eschatological beliefs, and this I was unable to clear up. It will be remembered that during the memorial ceremony a parcel of rice is put

down on the path to the burial (or burning) ground and another parcel is left on the grave itself. For this I was given two different explanations. Some men said that if the food is eaten immediately by crows it is a sign that the deceased was a good person and will in future help his relatives, while if the food remains untouched no help should be expected from his *jīv*. Others, however, gave a different story. They explained that if the food remains untouched, they knew the dead person's *jīv* went to Bhagavantaru, but if it is eaten by crows, the *jīv* has entered a crow, if eaten by kites it has entered a kite, and if eaten by dogs, it has entered a dog. Yidgaru (Tokal) of Pulajelma told me that even after the funeral food is sometimes placed outside the house in a winnowing fan for the express purpose of discovering the fate of the deceased's *jīv*. If large numbers of flies come and settle on the food, it is a sign that the deceased became a *dayam*—an evil ghost—while if any other animal devours the food it is assumed that the deceased's *jīv* has entered such an animal. Besides these ways of ascertaining the *jīv*'s immediate fate, there is the more common method of covering the floor of the deceased's house with ashes, placing a pot of water in the middle and carefully smoothing the floor. Then the house is left and the door fastened. At night the *jīv* of the deceased is expected to come and drink, and an examination of the ashes next morning will reveal in what shape he arrived. There may be the foot-prints of a man and even the marks of his knees as he knelt down to drink, or the paw-marks of a dog or jungle cat, or even the trace of a snake. This test is repeated every night until the ceremony on the grave three days after the funeral. I was told that the *jīv* does not remain in his animal incarnation for very long, but that after a short time goes to Bhagavantaru, not in animal but human shape.

If a dead man turns into a *dayam* he haunts the house in which he lived, produces strange noises among the cooking pots, and overthrows the baskets. He is then a great danger to his kinsmen, for if a child is born at this time, he will destroy it, and in certain cases he will even try to abduct adults, who will get pains in their arms and legs. The only remedy is to seek the help of a man well-versed in dealing with *dayam*, and he will pray to Garelamaisama to banish the *dayam* to a place outside the village where he can do no harm. The haunted house is then deserted for a few days, but reoccupied when the *dayam* is thought to have been finally driven away. My informants were ignorant as to the ultimate fate of such a *jīv*, but some thought that after several months of restless wandering, it might be allowed to proceed to Bhagavantaru's place. It is remarkable, that although Bhagavantaru is responsible for the existence of *dayam*, it is Garelamaisama who is invoked to banish them from the houses of their kinsmen. Perhaps this is due to the fact, that as a deity of this earth Garelamaisama is thought to be more con-

cerned with the ghosts roaming near human habitations, than Bhagavantaru, who lives far away in the sky.

No connection between the temporary incarnation of a *jiv* in a particular animal and the deeds of the deceased in this life is assumed by the Chenchus, and they do not regard the transformation into crow or kite as punishment for any particular crime. Neither is the manner of death believed to have any influence on the *jiv*'s future fate, and the Chenchu does not consider a violent death unlucky or fraught with magical dangers for the surviving kinsmen. The funeral ceremonies are therefore performed as usual. One might perhaps be inclined to ascribe the belief in the temporary reincarnation of a *jiv* in an animal to Hindu influence, were it not that the idea of the dead appearing in animal shape is also found among Indian tribes hardly touched by Hinduism. Reincarnation of *jiv* in human shape and with the retention of the memory of the previous life occurs in a story (cf. p. 216), but the Chenchus say that this happened in the old times and that they do not know whether nowadays the *jiv* of the dead can also be reborn.

A very different attitude is adopted towards the transformation of a *jiv* into a *dayam*. This represents not only a menace to the kinsmen and co-villagers of the deceased, but is also regarded as the consequence of his evil deeds during this life. The Chenchus are not very definite in describing the deeds which qualify a soul for the unenviable existence as a *dayam*, though repeated acts of violence, quarrelsome behaviour and frequent interference with the wives of other men are mentioned as examples; what they probably intend to express is a bad, unsocial character in general. They believe that the immediate cause for the *jiv*'s transformation into a *dayam* is Bhagavantaru's refusal to accept the *jiv* into his abode, which thus condemns the soul to roam the vicinity of its former home.

The souls of the departed sometimes visit their relatives in dreams and either talk to them or only stand nearby. The day after a Chenchu has had such a dream he will try to procure some saffron, and with this he will draw the rough figure of a man, called *pedra*, on the house floor and will prepare some food and place it in front of the figure. Then he will address his deceased relative with the following prayer:

" *Maku peddapuli kanapada kuredi yelugugoddu*
 To us tiger appear may not bear
kanapada kuredi inka ekarana pote maku agaram
 appear may not more (if) anywhere go we food
durkala."
 may find.

This prayer would seem to show that the souls of the departed are

believed to be in a position to protect their relatives against dangers, as well as to be able to help them in the quest for food.

Another prayer accompanying such an offering may run as follows:

*"Inka maku yemana baga durkala memu mimulne
More we anything good may find we to you
maruakunta dinam dinam moktumu."*
forgetting not day by day pray.

The Chenchus definitely believe that their departed relatives wish to be remembered and that they will help those who think of them and give them offerings of food. If a man does not think of his dead relatives they may make him ill, and then one versed in divination must discover which relative's wrath is the cause of the illness. A food offering quickly appeases the angry *jiv* and his forgetful kinsman is consequently restored to health.

This cult of the dead is not necessarily restricted to deceased blood relations, and should a man learn through a dream that the *jiv* of some other Chenchu is able and willing to render him aid, he will make an offering to that *jiv* in the hope of obtaining its support. It might be imagined that an extension of this cult would give rise to a cult of spirits, no longer identified as the *jiv* of men within living memory. No such development is, however, observable and since practically all the minor deities worshipped by the Chenchus are also propitiated by Hindu castes, they are evidently not deified Chenchu ancestors.

The Chenchu's attitude to the souls of the departed is one of moderate reverence and in cases of near relatives naturally also of affection, but there is no fear of the dead and the places of burial or burning are not shunned as places of danger. About once a year some people place food on the graves of their deceased relatives, but there is no obligation for such acts of piety and offerings made in the house are more usual. Although the *jiv* of a disgruntled relative may occasionally cause sickness, terror of ghosts or of places they haunt rarely disturbs the sober realistic Chenchu.

CHAPTER XXIV

MAGIC, DIVINATION AND DREAMS

Magic

I HAD lived for three months among the Chenchus before I came across the first allusion to magic. Guruvaru of Boramacheruvu, talking of the mysterious disease which had killed his beautiful wife, confided to me his suspicion that black magic had been the cause of her premature death. He thought that some amorous man, frustrated in his desire, had thus revenged himself for her refusal to yield to his advances. Guruvaru knew nothing of the details of magical practices nor was he familiar with any counter-measures. Indeed black magic in its true form seems to be a rare occurrence among the Jungle Chenchus. They say, however, that a man bent on harming an adversary may pray to one of the deities, preferably Potsamma and sometimes even Garelamaisama, promising an offering if his enemy falls ill or dies. Thus a deserted husband may request a deity to lead his wife back to him and smite her lover with illness, but it is thought that few men would go as far as to pray for a rival's death. No traditional formulæ are employed in such appeals for divine intervention, nor does success depend on the knowledge of secret devices. Although one may perhaps argue that such a practice is not magic but a perverted religious rite, there is probably little difference between the psychological attitude of a Chenchu who enlists the help of Potsamma or any other deity in the pursuit of his personal revenge and that of a magician who relies on the efficaciousness of standard spells and charms.

The Chenchu knows of no magical means of influencing the luck of the chase or the plenty of fruit and roots, nor does he use magic in connection with the breeding of cattle or his sporadic efforts at growing millet or Indian corn. The absence of magical practices in hunting and collecting is all the more significant, since these have been his fundamental occupations and the mainspring of his existence since time immemorial and are still regularly accompanied by prayers and offerings to Garelamaisama. Indeed magic seems to have played no prominent rôle in old Chenchu culture, and there can be little doubt that the source of the black magic now occasionally perpetrated is to be sought in the contact with the neighbouring Hindus and Mohammedans, among whom black magic is a wide-spread practice.

The only Jungle Chenchu who might be described as a magician was Papaya of Sarlapalli, who unfortunately died a few weeks before I visited the village.¹ He is reputed to have worked powerful magic and to have caused the illness and death of many Chenchus. As a young man Papaya lived for some time in the plains with a Mohammedan, and it was from this man that he learnt his art. On his return to the plateau he began to practise black magic on his own and it was not long before he found clients, willing to pay him for working vengeance against adversaries or rivals, while his own success with women was also attributed to his magical powers. The other Chenchus stood in great awe of Papaya and although strongly disapproving of his activities did not dare to take steps against him. While in Sarlapalli I overheard an altercation during a drinking party in which a young man was accused of having killed his wife's first husband. Next morning when I tried to learn more about the matter, all feigned ignorance of the incident. But as it was common knowledge that the first husband had not been murdered, but died of disease, the accusation can only have implied that he had been killed by black magic, and it is significant that the accused was a step-son of Papaya.

Divination

There is now apparently no magician like Papaya on the upper plateau, but a few Chenchus are experts in divination, an art which is practised in various circumstances. The most important requisite is an oval, smooth river pebble called *shekanum rai*, which is a family-possession and handed down from father to son. Not all Chenchus own such stones, but there are, as a rule, more than one in each village.

We have mentioned already that during serious illness an attempt is made to discover which deity is responsible for the patient's condition and the procedure in such cases is roughly as follows. The diviner sits in front of the patient, places the sacred stone on his own head, and holds both hands open in front of his face so as to catch the stone as it falls. Then he begins enumerating the names of gods and goddesses pausing between each name to give the stone time to respond. If it slips into the diviner's hands, it is a sign that the deity is not responsible; but if the stone remains on his head, he knows that the deity last mentioned has caused the patient's illness. Should the stone fall to the ground during the experiment, however, it is taken as a sign that the patient will die within a short time. Once it has been established which deity is the cause of the illness, offerings are promised in the case of recovery, but no rite is performed while the patient is still ill. It is this method of divination which is employed during difficult labour, when the diviner tries to discover the god willing to help in accelerating the delivery of the child.

Both men and women may act as diviners, but no special social status is attached to those proficient in the art, nor is the diviner paid for his services; usually he receives, however, a share in the food offered to the deity after the patient has recovered.

Divination is employed for no other purposes than the curing of sickness or the speeding of delivery; the Chenchu does not resort to divination when embarking on such enterprises as the conclusion of a marriage or the shifting of a village.

The belief in omens is practically non-existent among Chenchus, and no particular day or time is thought luckier or unluckier than any other. We have noticed already that the Chenchu is hemmed in by hardly any economic or social taboos, and hand in hand with this freedom from taboo restrictions goes a remarkable lack of superstition regarding small everyday occurrences, as for instance the appearance and movement of certain animals.

Dreams

Chenchus do not attach undue importance to dreams but when they wake in the morning, they sometimes relate their dreams to each other and discuss whether a dream may be lucky or unlucky. To dream of a wedding is considered unlucky, while dreaming of the funeral of a friend or kinsman is believed to foretell fortunate events. We have mentioned already, that the appearance of deceased relatives in dreams is sometimes taken as an occasion to make them an offering, but otherwise no particular meaning is attributed to dreams of the dead.

In general dreams are of ordinary occurrences, such as hunting, food-gathering or love-making; Sigarlu Lingaru said that when he is hungry he often dreams of food, but he invariably wakes as soon as he puts the food into his mouth. Tokal Gangaru once dreamt that climbing a tree he fell down and was badly hurt and dying, but he did not consider this dream unlucky.

As a rule deities do not appear in dreams and Menlur Potaru's dream-experience of the goddess Ellamma seems to have been exceptional. In stories the appearance of deities, and particularly of Garelamaisama, is a frequent motif, but when I tried to discover the Chenchu's idea of Bhagavantaru, Garelamaisama and other deities, I was invariably told that nobody has ever seen these gods, not even in dreams.

CHAPTER XXV

TRADITIONS AND STORIES

UNLIKE many other primitive races, the Chenchus have no mythology explaining the creation of the world or the origin of the human race. All their traditions and stories refer to times when the earth was already peopled and the Chenchus dwelt in the jungles and led the same life that they lead today. In those days they were not the only inhabitants of the forests, for spirits and rakshasas lived in the dense woods and the caves of the rocks, and the gods often condescended to appear to the Chenchus in human guise. Most Chenchu stories are of the same type as the fairy tales of the Indo-European races, while a few are animal tales and anecdotes usually in a humorous vein. But none of the stories bears the characteristics of a myth universally recognised and authorising or explaining tribal institutions. The tales reflect the relationship between men and deities as a given fact, they neither relate their origin nor do they form a background or sanction for ritual practices. Indeed, most of them differ as much from real myths as a Greek fable composed for the amusement of an audience differs from the myth of Uranus and Cronus.

In vain did I try to discover any myth or tradition pertaining to natural phenomena. The Chenchus protest that they know nothing of the origin and nature of sun and moon, eclipses, rainbows and earthquakes. A few men ventured to suggest, that the sun and moon are brothers, the sun being the elder and the moon the younger brother; but even over this they were hesitant, and I believe that they were repeating only what they had heard from outsiders.

Some of the stories given in this chapter contain motifs and conceptions so clearly outside the range of Chenchu life that no doubt can be entertained as to their foreign origin. Contact with the people of the plains has added to the store of Chenchu tales, just as it has made varied additions to the material culture, but the new traits incorporated within the old stories are easily recognizable. A few of my informants such as Merkal Guruvaru (cf. p. 250) and Yidgaru of Pulajelma, also knew stories that are obviously foreign in their entirety and do not contain any Chenchu characters. Although it is remarkable that Chenchus should assimilate and remember stories dealing at great length with Hindu gods, rajas, witches and miraculous transformations,

I have refrained from reproducing them here, since they are only known to a few individuals and are in no way typical Chenchu tales.

The following stories need no commentary, for viewed against Chenchu culture as it has been described in the preceding chapters they are easy to comprehend and the distinction between the original tales and the more recent additions presents little difficulty.

GARELAMAISSAMA AND THE FIRST CHENCHU

A long time ago, before there were any Chenchus in the land, two couples of Ravel people lived in the forest. They had no proper houses, but lived under the branches of trees. In the same forest lived a tiger who whenever a child was born to either couple stalked out of the forest and devoured the infant. This happened time after time, and at last one of the men decided that they must leave that part of the country and said to the other Ravel people: "Let us leave this place and settle somewhere else, for this tiger destroys all our children."

So the two men and one of the women ran away. The other woman was pregnant and since the hour of her confinement was upon her, she could not go with her husband, but lay down under a *jilledu* tree to bear her child. While she was still in labour the tiger came from the forest and sat in front of her, waiting to devour the child as soon as it was born. The woman was terrified and in her misery she thought of Garelamaisama and prayed: "See, this tiger has come again to eat my child,—if you want to help me, you must help me now,—but if you do not want to help, then I can do nothing and the tiger will again eat my child." As soon as the child was born, the woman jumped up and ran away as fast as she could, leaving it behind under the *jilledu* tree.

No sooner had the mother disappeared than Garelamaisama came in the shape of an old woman; she sat beside the infant and did not allow the tiger to harm it. The Ravel woman had left her child, who was a boy, under a *jilledu* tree, and Garelamaisama caused the leaves of the tree to break of themselves so that the milky juice dropped into the mouth of the child and nourished him; she caused the rain to fall, so that he should be washed, and as the boy grew up she always took care of him and provided him with food.

Many years passed and the boy under Garelamaisama's care grew into a man of great strength. One day he decided to go in search of the tiger that had threatened him at birth and after he had killed it he cut off its claws and tail and kept them carefully.

Then he thought of his father and mother and wondered how it was that he was all by himself: he wondered where his father and mother might be and he decided to go and look for them. For a long

time he wandered through the jungle looking for his parents, and at last he came upon four people of Ravel clan.

When the Ravel people saw a young man coming through the jungle they said: "Who are you and where do you come from?"

The boy answered: "I really do not know who I am or who my parents were, I have lived in the jungle all my life and Garelamaisama has always taken care of me. I have just killed the tiger that tried to eat me when I was a child—see, here are its claws and its tail."

When the Ravel people heard this, they knew that the boy must be their son, and they told him how his mother had left him under a *jilledu* tree soon after his birth and prayed to Garelamaisama for his protection.

The boy was delighted at the news, but he was not quite sure whether he should believe the story and he said to the people of Ravel clan: "How shall I know whether you are really my parents? All I know is, that I have always lived in the jungle where Garelamaisama cared for me." But while they had been talking they had sat down in the shade of a *jilledu* tree and suddenly some of the leaves on the branches above them broke of themselves and the milk ran straight into the boy's mouth, and at the same time milk gushed from the breasts of one of the women, also spurting into the boy's mouth. Then all knew that the boy was indeed the infant abandoned at birth and the boy's father said to him: "You see both this woman and the *jilledu* tree are your mothers."

So the boy stayed with his parents and they were all very happy. After some time, the boy's father and mother suggested that their son should marry, but the boy said that he would only marry a girl who like himself had been born under a *jilledu* tree.

About this time his mother became pregnant again and in due course gave birth to a girl-child under another *jilledu* tree, but she died shortly after she had been delivered, and so Garelamaisama took the girl and brought her up in the jungle, where under the care of the goddess she grew quickly into a young woman.

One day while the boy was hunting in the forest, he came to the place where the girl lived with Garelamaisama and when he saw her he knew that this was the girl whom he would marry. Garelamaisama provided them with everything that they needed to live in that part of the forest, even to a clear spring of water.

These were the first Chenchus. After sometime they had two children, a boy and a girl and when this brother and sister grew up and again married, the parents said that it was not right that they should all live together. So the young couple left the parents and settled in another place; eventually they too had children and these again married each other. So it was in the old times, when brother always

married sister; but later the people said: "It is not right that we marry only our sisters. We must have several clans and we must only take wives from other clans." So first the Chenchus founded the Tokal clan¹ and after that all the other clans were made and today the Chenchus do not marry girls of their own, but of other clans.

THE ORPHAN BOY WHO KILLED THE TIGER

In a Chenchu village there once lived a very rich man, who had many buffaloes, cows, and goats, but only one son. When the boy was ten or twelve years old, both his parents died and the brothers of his mother came and took away all the property and cattle leaving the boy alone in the house of his father.

The boy, who was still quite small, was at a loss what to do, and he begged help from all the people in the village, but none would take care of him. Finally he went to the brothers of his mother, who had taken everything from him and asked their help, but they too drove him away; for they thought: "If this boy grows up, he will take back all the cattle of his father."

The boy was very unhappy; he had lost his parents and had no one to look after him and so he went back to his house and cried. But Garelamaisama took pity on the poor orphan and came in the shape of an old woman bringing him good cooked food and water. The boy did not recognize the goddess and believing that she was some old woman of another house thought to himself: "This old woman is bringing me food today, but she might not bring it to-morrow, so I must leave this place and find somewhere else to live."

Early next morning the boy left his home village and after he had gone a long way he came to a settlement called Peddapulli Baru (tiger hill), where there lived an old man with his family of three sons and one daughter. When the old man saw the boy, he enquired from whence he came and after the boy had related all that had befallen him since the death of his parents, the old man said: "There is no need to worry, let your mother's brothers have all the cattle of your father, and come and stay with me and look after my buffaloes, and I will take care of you." To this the boy readily agreed; he stayed with the kind old man and looked after the buffaloes.

There were no other houses and no other families in that part of jungle, only the house of the old man, and the orphan boy stayed there for a long time, going each day to graze the buffaloes. Now and then Garelamaisama would come in the shape of an old woman to see him and ask him whether he was well and had enough food, but he never recognized her and once when he asked her who she was, she only

1. The story was told to me by a man of Tokal clan.

answered: "I have come a long way to look after you, because you have no parents."

The old man of Peddapulli Baru had a daughter about the same age as the orphan and she liked the boy and was glad when he came to live in her father's house, for she decided she would marry him as soon as they both grew up. So it was that after some years she began begging her parents to allow her to marry the orphan boy. Finally they agreed and the daughter of the old man and the orphan were married and for some time lived happily in Peddapulli Baru.

Then one day a fierce tiger came and killed a great many of the old man's cattle and the orphan determined to go after the tiger who had caused his father-in-law so much trouble. But both his wife and father-in-law tried to dissuade him saying: "Why do you want to risk your life? Leave the tiger in peace, or let other men kill him, but you must stay with us." The boy, however, would not listen and taking his bow and arrows and his axe and his knife, and his honey-basket, which had all been his father's and which were the only possessions his mother's brothers had left him, he set out to kill the tiger.

As he went through the jungle to the place where the tiger was said to be, he prayed to Garelamaisama, and she appeared to him promising him her help and even giving him some coins.

When the orphan had wandered through the forest for a long time, he came to a house on a hill; there lived an old woman whose name was Peralapeddamma and she greeted the boy with surprise:

"Where do you come from, my son? How is it that you come to this part of the forest where no one ever comes for fear of the tiger, who devours all those daring to approach. Come quickly into my hut, lest the tiger comes this way and catches you too."

But the boy only answered:

"How is it then, grandmother, that you still live here? Why does the tiger not eat you?

"I am an old woman, so he does me no harm, but you are young and he would certainly kill you if he finds you; quick come into my house."

So the boy went inside the house, and then the old woman asked many questions as to where he came from and what he was doing. The boy told the old woman all that had happened to him since his parents' death and how he was now looking after the cattle of the old man at Peddapulli Baru; but he did not say that he was married. When he had finished his story, the old woman told him of the large and fierce tiger that roamed the jungle; how every day he devoured men and cattle, how though many had tried to slay him they had all been killed in the attempt, and how the *peddamanchi* of the nearby settlement was

offering his beautiful daughter to the man who rid the jungle of the tiger.

When the orphan had listened to all that the old woman had to say, he told her that he had heard of the tiger and that he had come to kill him.

"No, no, don't try and do that," cried Peralapeddamma, "he will certainly eat you."

"Oh! no, it is I who will kill the tiger."

But the old woman was very upset and she tried to dissuade the boy from going after the tiger, worrying him until at last he said: "All right, to-morrow I will go back to Peddapulli Baru."

Then he gave the old woman some of the money which he had received from Garelamaisama and she gave him some food, and when they had eaten, they both lay down and went to sleep.

But in the middle of the night the boy woke and making sure that the old woman was asleep, he put out his hand and slowly took his bow and an arrow with a long flat head, called *agi bornum*, and went into the forest to lie in wait for the tiger. Almost immediately the tiger smelt him. But the boy hid behind a tree, and as the tiger passed, he drew his bow and sent his arrow into the tiger's shoulder, so that the beast fell dead. Then the boy came out from behind the tree, and cutting the tips off the claws, the ears and the tail put them into his honey-basket and slipped back into the hut where he lay down beside the old woman as though nothing had happened.

In the morning Peralapeddamma said: "Wait a little until we hear whether the tiger killed anyone last night, and then you must go back to your village."

Meanwhile a washerman with his donkey passed the spot where the carcass of the tiger lay and taking his gun, which he carried to protect himself in the forest, he approached within a few steps of the body and shot at the already dead tiger; then he cut off the ears and the claws and the tail, without noticing that the tips were missing, and ran to the Chenchu village with the proof of his prowess, claiming the *peddamanchi*'s daughter as his prize.

But the daughter of the *peddamanchi*, who lived in a pile-dwelling—a rectangular building on bamboo poles—, came down from her house and looking carefully at the ears and the claws and the tail of the tiger, saw that the tips were missing:

"How is it," she said, "that the tips of the claws and ears and the tail are missing?"

Then her father, the *peddamanchi*, also saw that the tips had been clipped and decided to find out how such a thing had happened. He sent a man to all the houses to call the people together,—the old woman

and the orphan were called too,—and when all were assembled, the *peddamanchi* asked if they knew what had happened; then the boy stepped forward and showed the tips of the tiger's ears, claws and tail and explained how he had killed the tiger on the previous evening. When it became evident that the washerman was a liar, the people drove him out of the village.

The *peddamanchi*, who was of Ravel clan, married his beautiful daughter to the orphan boy, and since in those days people did not wear *sari* but only leaves, the wedding could be held at once.¹ The *peddamanchi* was so pleased with his brave son-in-law, that he gave him thirty head of cattle.

After some days the boy decided he would like to return to Peddapulli Baru, and saying good-bye to his father-in-law and taking his wife, he went away into the jungle. But instead of going straight home to Peddapulli Baru, he went to the house of Peralapeddamma to whom he gave some more of Garelamaisama's money and left his wife and the cattle in her care, while he returned alone to his village.

The news of his success had travelled before him and when he arrived his first wife and parents-in-law, who had already heard of his deeds and how he had married the daughter of the *peddamanchi*, asked him:

“Why did'nt you bring your new wife with you?”

And the boy, who had thought that there would be some trouble if he brought his second wife to Peddapulli Baru, answered:

“Oh! I thought two wives would quarrel if they lived together, so I left the daughter of the *peddamanchi* behind.”

“No, no, you must go and fetch her and we will all live happily together,” cried the first wife, and so the boy returned to the house of Peralapeddamma and brought his second wife and all the cattle to Peddapulli Baru.

For a long time the boy lived with his two wives quite happily and then one day his first wife said to him: “Would you not like to go back to your own village?” The boy thought this an excellent idea, for after all it would be nice to return to the village of his parents; but first he went into the jungle and prayed to Garelamaisama and asked her advice.

Then Garelamaisama appeared to him and when she advised him to take his two wives and his cattle and go back to the village where he was born, he begged her to make him an underground way to his house, so that his mother's brothers should not be able to see his two wives. Garelamaisama promised that such a way would be ready by the next day.

1. The present custom of presenting the bride with a *sari* often involves delay, as money must be found and the *sari* bought in a bazaar.

So the boy said good-bye to the people of Peddapulli Baru and went with his two wives and his cattle through the underground way, which led into a large cave directly beneath his parents' house. There he left his two wives, while he went to look at the house which he had left so long ago and to tie up his cattle to the posts in front of his door.

Now one of his mother's brothers who lived nearby had a daughter and this daughter had always liked the orphan boy; when her father took away the boy's cattle, she kept count of what happened to the animals—how many calves were born and how many were sold and how many died,—thinking that one day she would find and marry the orphan boy and then they would both reclaim the boy's property.

On the day after the boy arrived in his old village this girl happened to pass his house and seeing all the cattle tied to the posts, she went into the house hoping to find her cousin; but the house was empty, for the boy had gone to the jungle to collect roots and the two wives were still in the cave underground. The girl took a broom and swept the house and the space in front of the door, and then she went away. When the boy returned, he wondered who had swept his house so nicely, for he knew that his two wives were still in the cave and only came out at night. Next day and the days after that exactly the same thing happened, until one day the boy returning from the jungle a little earlier than usual found a pretty young girl sweeping his house.

"What are you doing here?" said the boy who was not at all pleased, "How is it, that you a young girl, come alone to the house of a bachelor?"

Then the girl looked at him and answered:

"Don't you know, that I am your mother's brother's daughter? I happened to come this way and when I saw that no one had swept your house I went and fetched a broom and did the work myself." But the orphan grew angry that she should have entered his house without a word to him and told her rudely to go away; but the girl replied:

"Now you shout and behave like a brute, but if you were really so strong and courageous, you would not allow your mother's brothers to keep all your father's cattle!"

This calmed the orphan and his anger left him; he began to talk to the girl in a friendly manner, so that after a while she said: "You have no wife to keep your house in order and I am your mother's brother's daughter, so let us live together." The girl was very pretty and the orphan liked her and as soon as he agreed to marry her, she ran back to her father and said: "Your sister's son has returned home, and I want to marry him. Give me the cattle which you took and all the calves they have born and I will take them back to him." Then she drove all the cattle to the orphan's house and tied it to the posts

beside the house. The orphan boy had now a hundred head of cattle.

Then the boy prepared a big wedding feast, to which many were invited including the parents of both his first and second wife, and he fetched his two wives from the cave and all the guests admired their beauty and their rich ornaments: "What an excellent man is this to have married three such beautiful wives and to have acquired so much wealth!"

All the guests were feasted and Garelamaisama saw to it that however much a man ate, his leaf-plate always remained full; the people wondered at this and said to each other: "How is it, that however much we eat, there is still food on the plates?"

When they could eat and drink no more they all went away full of praise for their host, and the orphan boy lived happily with his three wives and his hundred head of cattle.

THE COWARD AND HIS BRAVE WIFE

Once there was a young Chenchu couple who lived in the village of the wife's kinsfolk. One day they went to the jungle to collect roots and to hunt and after they had walked for a long time they came to a big rock and close to the big rock there was a very high tree; inside the rock there was a cave and inside the cave there were two tiger cubs.

When the man saw the cubs he said to his wife: "Look, here are two jungle cats, we must catch them and roast them and eat them." But the wife looked at the cubs, and saw that they were no jungle cats but young tigers and she replied: "These are tiger's cubs. We must run away from here quickly in case the tiger returns. On no account must we touch them. If we take those cubs the tiger will surely come and kill us."

The man would not listen to his wife and said: "No, no these are jungle cats and I am going to kill them and eat them."

But the cave was very dark and deep and the man was too frightened to enter himself, but he told his wife to go in and bring out the cubs. His wife, however, was a sensible woman and refused to do anything so stupid; so they stood at the mouth of the cave quarrelling and shouting until evening.

Then, suddenly they heard the roar of a tiger and the wife cried:

"You see, the tiger is coming, quick we must climb up into this high tree." And with these words she scrambled up the trunk, shouting to her husband to follow. But the man only laughed and said:

"Oh no! the tiger is not coming anywhere here. What are you doing up in that tree?" No sooner were the words out of his mouth, however, than the tiger appeared and the man, terrified, rushed to the tree, but so frightened was he that he could not climb up and his wife

had to take off her *sari* and pull him up like a water bucket from a well.

Even safe among the branches the man still shook and shivered with fright lest the tiger should climb up after him, and seeing a hole in the trunk he crept in head foremost, so that nothing was visible but one toe which stuck out of the top.

When the tigress smelt the smell of man in her cave, she killed both her cubs in her rage and then she looked round for the intruders. Raising her head she saw the woman sitting on the branch and rushing to the tree she began climbing up; but the woman took her husband's axe and cut off the head of the tigress as she came up the trunk. After a short while the male tiger came home to his cave and saw the tigress and his two cubs lying dead on the ground and he too smelt the smell of man. In great anger he looked around and when he saw the woman sitting in the branches, he began climbing up the tree. But the woman again took her husband's axe and as the tiger came up the trunk, she cut off his head and he too fell down dead.

Now that both tigers were dead, the woman shouted to her husband: "Come let us climb out of this tree and go home."

But the man was still terrified, for he had been hiding his head in the hole all the time and did not know what had happened:

"Oh no! the tigers will kill us if we climb down from the tree."

"Come out of your hole," said the wife, "for I have killed the tigers already."

When the man tried to get out of his hole, he could not move, for he had gone in head foremost and was stuck in the narrow opening, and when his wife came to his help and dragged him out by the foot, he was so firmly wedged that his ears and nose were rubbed off. For as he slid into the hole, his ears and nose were pressed against his head, but as he was pulled out, they caught against the rough bark and came off.

Then the man was very sorry for himself and tied leaves to his nose and ears to cover his wounds: "What shall we say to the people of the village when we get home? We must not tell them that my nose and ears were rubbed off in that hole. It is better to say that I had to fight eight tigers and when I had killed seven, the eighth caught hold of me and threw me down a rock and that is how I hurt my nose and ears."

"All right," said the woman, "we'll tell that story if you like."

On their arrival home, the brothers and sisters of the woman and her parents crowded round the couple and asked them many questions as to what had happened and why they had been away all night. Everyone thought that they must have killed some game or found very good collecting grounds and brought home many roots.

"No, no," said the man, "we have not found anything; we met some tigers, and I killed seven of them,—now we are tired, so give us something to eat and we will lie down and go to sleep."

But the wife's younger brother, who was still a little boy, pulled the leaves from the nose and ears of the man and cried out: "Brother-in-law, what has happened to your nose and ears?" Then all the people began to laugh but the man silenced them by explaining how he had lost his nose and ears in the fight with the eighth tiger; while his wife sat quietly by and never told the people that her husband was a liar.

For a long time the couple lived happily together, until one day they had a very bad quarrel and the man began to beat his wife. But she screamed so loud, that all her brothers and sisters came to her assistance. The wife was furious at the beating she had received and shouted out:

"This coward is trying to beat me, but he has no real courage. Know all of you that it was I who killed the two tigers in the jungle. He only hid in a hole in a tree; it was when I pulled him out, that his nose and ears were torn off."

Then all the people laughed and the man felt so ashamed that he thought to himself: 'This cannot go on. I must go to Bhagavantaru and pray him to give me a new nose and new ears.'

So he set out for the jungle and wandered and wandered for a long time, until at last he met Bhagavantaru.

"Where are you going?" asked Bhagavantaru.

"I am going to find Bhagavantaru," answered the man.

"I am Bhagavantaru, what do you want from me?"

Then the man told the god the story of how he lost his nose and ears and how every one was laughing at him, and he asked Bhagavantaru to give him a new nose and new ears.

But the god replied: "I cannot help you. It was through your wife that you lost your nose and your ears, go and ask her to help you."

Then the man thought: "This cannot be Bhagavantaru, since he sends me back to my wife." And so he went on wandering about in the jungle looking for Bhagavantaru.

When the god saw this, he built a house on the path and sat inside on a golden throne, and as the man passed by Bhagavantaru called to him; but the man still wouldn't believe that this was Bhagavantaru sitting on a throne. So Bhagavantaru told him to open the door of another house that stood beside that with the golden throne, and there the man found all his dead relatives. Then he believed that this was Bhagavantaru, and he asked the god to give him back his nose and his ears, but Bhagavantaru only gave him the same answer as before.

"If Bhagavantaru cannot give me a new nose and new ears,"

thought the man, " and sends me back to my wife, I would rather die than be continually laughed at by my relations-in-law." So he went away into the jungle and was never seen or heard of again.

THE MAN WHO WENT OUT TO FIND BHAGAVANTARU

There was once a Chenchu, who had two wives but no children. The man was very unhappy, for whatever food he brought home, whether roots or millet, there was always very little of it as soon as it was cooked. And he wondered how this was and said to himself: " How is it that however much I bring home, it becomes very little when it is cooked. Who eats it? Do my wives eat it? Or does the pot eat it?"

One day he went to the bazaar and brought a great quantity of millet and gave it to his wives to grind; but although he watched over the grinding and the cooking very carefully, most of the millet vanished before he could eat it, and still he could not understand how it happened.

So he decided that the only thing to do was to find Bhagavantaru, and to ask him how it was that in cooking the food disappeared. He left his two wives and went to the jungle and walked for a long time looking for Bhagavantaru. When evening came, he met two other Chenchus, a man and his wife who were out hunting, but as they had not yet killed anything, they were just about to eat some millet bread.

" Where are you going and where are you coming from?" they asked the Chenchu.

" Oh! I am going to see Bhagavantaru."

" How is that? How can you go to see Bhagavantaru? We have lived in this jungle a long time, but we have never seen the god Bhagavantaru. Be careful, there are seven tigers in this jungle, so do not go any further. We will not return to our village to-night, but will stay here under this tree; so you had better stay here with us."

" All right, I'll stay with you here under this tree," said the man.

Then the husband said to his wife: " This man is a Chenchu like ourselves, let us give him a piece of our millet bread."

But the wife became very angry and said: " Why should we give this man any of our food? I won't give him any of my food, but you can do what you like."

" But he is a Chenchu like ourselves," protested the husband. But the woman got even more angry and shouted like a dog: " Send him away, he shall not stay here, and now I am going to eat my bread." So she ate her half of the millet bread, and then went to fetch some water; but the husband shared his half with the stranger.

Then they all climbed into the branches of the high tree for the night. Soon the moon rose and they saw the seven tigers come and look

up to the branches of the tree. At first they were all very frightened, but later the husband dropped off to sleep and while he slept he fell to the ground and the tigers ate him up.

For this the woman blamed the stranger: "That is your fault," she said, "because you came, my husband fell down and was eaten."

"How can that be my fault?" said the man, "How can I help it if your husband is so careless as to go to sleep?"

When morning came, the man and the wife of the man who had been eaten by the tigers both climbed down the tree and went their own ways.

The Chenchu went further and further into the jungle and after he had walked for a long time, he met a raja who was out hunting.

Now that raja had a daughter, who although she was of age, was not married and she was very unhappy. Everyday she went to the tank outside her house and cried and cried: "Oh! no one comes to this village, no one comes to marry me, and my father takes no trouble to find me a husband." And everyday she cried so much that her tears swelled the water of the tank, and broke the dam which her father had built, so that everyday the raja had to have the dam repaired by many coolies.

When the raja saw the Chenchu he said: "Where do you come from and where are you going? For I have never seen a man like you."

"Oh! I am going to see Bhagavantaru," answered the Chenchu.

"If you find Bhagavantaru," said the raja, "ask him why it is that the dam of my tank always breaks, and when you come back you must tell me the answer."

Then the Chenchu left the raja and went on his way, and he came to a village where a buffalo calf had been born, which could not eat grass or drink water. When the owner heard that the Chenchu was going to Bhagavantaru, he begged him to ask the god what was wrong with his calf and why it would not eat or drink.

The Chenchu wandered on and on through the great forest. There he came to a white-ant heap, the home of a big snake. This snake had twelve heads and was very old. As soon as the Chenchu approached the ant heap, the snake spoke like a man and called out: "Where are you coming from and what do you seek in this forest? No men ever come here, what has brought you here?"

"I am going to find Bhagavantaru, that is why I have come this way," answered the Chenchu.

Then the snake said: "I am very old and I have no children and no relations and nobody to take care of me. And for a long time I have had a very bad pain in my back, but I neither die nor get any better. I have a great deal of money; this and several other houses are filled

with my treasure, and I have a precious magic ring. If I turn this ring I can wish myself to any place I like and I can even transport all my treasure with me. When you see Bhagavantaru, please ask him, when he will call me to him. Tell him that I should like either to die or to be cured of my pain. If I cannot be cured, he must call me to him soon."

Then the Chenchu said: "I will tell Bhagavantaru about you and your wishes." And he went away deeper into the forest.

When Bhagavantaru saw that the Chenchu took so much trouble to find him, and thought neither of food nor sleep nor his two wives, he said to himself: "This is indeed a good man and I must help him." So he made a beautiful house in the jungle and sat inside on a chair with a female servant to fan him with a fan made of peacock-feathers. But when the Chenchu passed by, he was thinking only of Bhagavantaru and so he did not stop, but went on into the jungle. Then Bhagavantaru called out to him: "Where are you going son, and what are you looking for in this jungle? Come into my house."

But the Chenchu shouted: "No, I cannot come into your house, I am going to find Bhagavantaru."

"I am Bhagavantaru," said the god, "why don't you come in and see me?"

But the Chenchu answered: "Oh no, you cannot be Bhagavantaru, and so I cannot stay with you."

But Bhagavantaru called out once more: "Do come here and see for yourself, and then you will know that I am Bhagavantaru."

So the Chenchu turned back and entered Bhagavantaru's house and found the god sitting on a chair. He was very old, with a long white beard and a white moustache. Then the Chenchu opened one door and found a room in which were his father and mother and his dead brothers and all his deceased relatives. When he opened another door he came to a room in which were all the souls of the unborn people waiting to enter the wombs of women and in a third room the Chenchu found all the evil spirits.

Then Bhagavantaru asked the Chenchu why he had come, and the Chenchu told him how it was that all his food disappeared every time it was cooked and how he could think of no other way of discovering what was wrong, than finding Bhagavantaru and asking his help.

Then Bhagavantaru said: "Do not worry about that; when you return home the man who fell from the tree and was eaten by the seven tigers, will be reborn as the child of the *peddamanchi* of your village. You must attend his birth as a midwife and sprinkle the child with water, and he will remember you, and in the future you will help each other and you will have no more trouble with your food. Is there any-

thing else you want from me?"

Then the Chenchu said: "On my way here, I came to the house of a snake with twelve heads, who has a very bad pain in his back and would like either to be cured or to die. What will happen to the snake?"

"Oh," said Bhagavantaru, "this snake cannot be cured from the pain in the back, but if he gave away his ring and all his treasure he would die at once. Is there anything else, you want from me?"

Then the Chenchu told Bhagavantaru about the buffalo-calf: "On my way here," he said, "I passed the house of a man, whose buffalo had just had a calf and the calf can neither eat grass nor can it drink. How is that? Why should such a thing happen to the calf? Will it get better?"

And Bhagavantaru answered: "That man has two wives and they always quarrel. If they do not stop their fighting, they will be like that calf in their next life, unable to drink and to eat, and they will suffer a great deal. The calf is like this so that they should be warned of their fate, but after a few days, if they stop quarrelling, the calf will be all right. Is there anything else you want of me?"

"On my way here," said the Chenchu, "I met a raja out hunting, and the raja begged me to ask you why the tank which he has built at great cost does not hold water."

"That raja has a daughter who is not married," answered Bhagavantaru, "if he would marry the daughter, the dam of his tank would no longer break."

Then the Chenchu thanked Bhagavantaru and went his way. When he arrived at the house of the snake and told him of Bhagavantaru's answer, the snake said: "Please take my ring and all my treasure, so that I can die."

But the Chenchu said: "How can I carry all the treasure with me?"

"That is easy," answered the snake, "for you have my ring and you have only to wish yourself to a place, and you will be there with all the treasure."

So the Chenchu took the ring and the treasure and the snake died immediately, and his *jiv* went to Bhagavantaru. The Chenchu then proceeded to the man with the calf, and told him what Bhagavantaru had said of his two quarrelsome wives, to whom the calf was to serve as a warning. Then the wives stopped their quarrelling and the calf began to eat and to drink.

Then the Chenchu wished himself to the town of the raja and told him that Bhagavantaru had said that the dam of his tank would no longer break, if he married his daughter. The raja was very pleased to hear this and exclaimed: "Where could I find a better husband for

my daughter than this young man who has ventured to find Bhagavantaru and brought me back this good news?" So he prepared the wedding at once and the girl was very happy, and since she no longer cried, her tears no longer swelled the waters of the tank and the dam never broke again.

After the Chenchu had stayed with the raja for a few days, he took the raja's daughter and went home, and the raja gave him a great number of cattle and several carts full of presents.

Soon after the Chenchu arrived home, the wife of the *peddamanchi* of the village was confined, and since there was no midwife anywhere near, the Chenchu dressed as a woman and helped at the delivery. When the child was born, he sprinkled some water over the child, and at once the child began to talk: "I am the man who fell from the tree and was eaten by tigers; when you spent the night in the great forest, I gave you food and asked you to stay with me; it was I who helped you. Now it is your turn to help me and look after me."

The Chenchu assured him that he would always look after him and from that time they always helped each other.

Soon afterwards the woman of one of the poorest families was confined, and again the Chenchu acted as midwife. The poor woman was delivered of a girl and as soon as the child was born, the Chenchu sprinkled her with water and the girl began to speak: "I am the woman, whose husband was eaten by tigers and who stayed with you in the jungle. Then I treated you very badly and gave you no food, and so I am now born as the child of very poor parents. But please forgive me for what I have done and help me now that I am poor."

Then the Chenchu promised to care for her too, and he and his three wives lived happily ever after and had no more trouble over their food.

THE MAN WHO MARRIED THE SPIRIT WOMAN

Once upon a time there was a large Chenchu village, with many houses and many people, and near this village there was a huge rock, which was the home of a spirit woman.¹ The people of the village never approached the rock, for if men or cattle went that way, the spirit woman caught them and swallowed them up.

But one day a great hunter visited the village by the rock and, since he was a stranger, the *peddamanchi* warned him not to venture near the rock, telling him that no one ever returned from the place. The hunter followed the *peddamanchi's* advice, and returned to his village by the way he had come, but he thought to himself: 'Why did they tell me not to go there? What may there be on that rock that could

1. The Chenchus use here the word *deviti*, which is also used in describing female deities, and not the word *dayam* (evil spirit). Here, however, it seems preferable to translate *deviti* as spirit.

be so dangerous?" And because he was very brave and a great hunter, he decided he would go and see for himself.

So next day he took his bow and arrow and without going near the Chenchu village or saying anything to any other man, he made his way to the foot of the great rock. But although he looked and looked, he could see nothing and only when he was half way up the rock, did he see that there was a very big and fat woman asleep on the top.

Now this woman was the spirit woman; she used to sleep for one whole year without waking, and the next year she would spend the whole year eating without ever going to sleep.

The hunter wanted to see what manner of being this might be; so he climbed up the rock and went quite close to the spirit woman, and he found that she had a very beautiful face. But so soundly did she sleep that she never woke when the hunter approached and as she was so lovely he lay with her and then went quietly back to his house.

The next day the same thing happened; he again went to the rock and again had intercourse with the sleeping spirit woman and again returned to his house. This went on for a long time and every day the hunter lay with the sleeping woman on top of the rock.

But one day the spirit woman woke up and found herself pregnant and she was very cross and thought: 'How could such a thing have happened? Which god could have come and done this while I was asleep, and if it was not a god, what man has dared to come to my rock?' The spirit woman decided that she must find out who it was who had made her pregnant, and so she lay down as before and feigned sleep.

Next day the hunter came to the rock and seeing the woman sleeping as before, he was just going to embrace her, when she caught him in her arms and said: "Who gave you permission to come here, and why did you do this to me?"

But the brave hunter was not afraid of the spirit woman, because he had enjoyed her, and he answered: "Yes, I did this to you, do what you like to me. I did not want to disturb your sleep, and so I always went away quietly without waking you."

And the spirit woman, instead of being cross, gave the hunter some fruit and talked nicely to him. After they had talked for some time the hunter said: "In a few days you will bear a child so come to my house." Then the spirit woman came down from the rock and went to live in the hunter's house, and from the day that she entered the house, the hunter began to grow rich; he collected much cattle and had a lot of food, and he lived very happily with his first wife and his spirit wife.

When the baby of the spirit woman was born, everyone was very glad, and the first wife, who had no children of her own, looked after

the little boy while the spirit woman went to the jungle and brought home roots and fruit. When they wanted millet or rice, the spirit woman took two or four annas and went to the *banya*, who thought it a lot of money and for two annas gave them a whole month's provisions. The hunter and his first wife marvelled at the great quantity of foodstuffs and they were very pleased, for they never got so much when they took two or four annas to the *banya*.

But the son of the spirit woman cried whenever his mother went to the bazaar or to the jungle and the first wife got very cross with him and beat the boy. When the spirit woman discovered that the first wife beat her son, she became angry and she took the child and went to live in another place.

The hunter was very upset that the spirit woman had left his house and he went into the jungle to look for her, but when after a long search he found her, he could not persuade her to come back to him. However, she said that if he liked he could keep the child, and as soon as he had taken the boy, the spirit woman turned into a bat and flew away. The man took his son home, but from that day he was very poor and never had enough to eat.

VUTIKANKA

There was a Chenchu man called Ravad of Menlur clan, who was married but had no children; so when he once saw a girl of great beauty he decided to marry her as his second wife. The girl was called Vutikanka and she lived with her parents in the jungle. Ravad went to the father and mother and asked them to give him their daughter, and since they had no objections he married her and took her home to live with him and his other wife.

From the day that Ravad brought Vutikanka into his house, he had always plenty to eat and he became very rich. Vutikanka used to go to the jungle every morning and every evening she brought home a lot of money and food. Ravad did not know where she got all these things, but he was very happy because the times were so good.

Before very long Vutikanka bore a son, and Ravad was pleased to have a child. But even then Vutikanka did not stay behind in the house to look after her son, but left him in the care of the other wife, who had no child.

All went well at first, but soon the first wife of Ravad began to complain, for she did not like to stay at home and look after the child of her husband's second wife. The child cried a great deal while its mother was away and the first wife said: "Why should I look after this child, while its mother is away in the jungle?"

Then Vutikanka, who was really a spirit and heard all that the first wife said even though she was far away in the jungle, became very angry and ran home and took the boy away from the first wife. She carried him to the well and killed him by hitting his head against a stone.

Vutikanka never returned to Ravad's house, but she stayed near the water, where she had killed her son. Ravad was very unhappy and for days he would eat nothing but spent the time wandering about in the jungle looking for Vutikanka. At last, after a long time he met her by the well and he begged her to come back and live with him again, but Vutikanka said that that was impossible ; she added, however, that he should never want for food, and that, if he was ever in need he should just think of her.

It is for this reason that even today the women collect most of the food and bring it home to their husbands.

THE SPIRIT GIRL AND THE RAKSHASI

Once upon a time there was a Chenchu who had a wife and one son. This Chenchu was the raja of the Chenchus and his son was very tall and very strong. When the boy grew up, his parents decided that the time had now come to find him a wife. But the boy said that he did not want to marry.

Then the parents tried to persuade him and they found a pretty girl, but the boy said he did not like her and so they had to take her away. Then they brought other girls and the same thing happened, till the boy had refused six pretty girls one after the other.

But the parents did not give up hope ; they brought a seventh girl, and they picked flowers in the jungle and decked her with garlands. Yet, the boy refused to marry. Then the seventh girl said to the parents : " So many girls have come, but your son does not want any of us. But perhaps he would like to marry my younger sister, who is prettier than I, for she is like a spirit and always stays in the jungle talking to the gods."

The parents of these sisters had been ordinary Chenchus, but they had abandoned their children in the jungle and the god Virabhadra had looked after them as they grew up.

When the girls whom the parents had brought for their son saw that he would not marry any of them, they went away ; and the boy too went away for he had overheard all that the seventh girl had said and he made up his mind to go and look for the spirit girl.

He walked and walked from morning till evening, but he could not find the spirit girl. In all his wanderings he did not meet anyone and at last, when he was very tired, he lay down under a big tree and

went to sleep. While he was asleep seven parrots came and perched on the branches over his head.

The first parrot said: "All these days we have been in this jungle, and no man has come here. Why does this man come and sleep under this tree?"

And the second parrot also said: "Yes, we have been here so long and no one came."

But the third parrot said: "Oh! he is sleeping here under this tree, because he did not want to marry any of us,—seven girls came to him, and none of them pleased him, and now he wants to marry a spirit girl, who is more beautiful than we and who talks to the gods."

And the fourth parrot said: "I suppose that is so. He does not want to marry an ordinary girl of the jungle, but he would like to marry a spirit girl."

And the fifth parrot asked the other parrots: "If he wants to marry a spirit girl, where will he find her?"

The sixth parrot too asked: "If he wants to marry a spirit girl, where shall he find her in this jungle?"

But the seventh parrot answered all their questions and said: "If he goes to Virabadra perhaps he will find the spirit girl there, for she is my sister and she is very beautiful and speaks with the gods."

All this time the boy had been listening to the parrots' talk, and he thought that the best thing he could do was to go and find Virabadra as the seventh parrot had said and ask him for the spirit girl. So he got up from the ground where he had been sleeping and left the tree and the seven parrots, who were the seven girls he had refused to marry, and went to find Virabadra.

Now Virabadra was a very old man, and he had only become like a god, because he had prayed so much. When at last the boy found Virabadra, he threw his arms round the old man and held him fast. Then Virabadra asked the boy: "Why have you come and caught me? Tell me what do you want of me."

"I am in search of a wife and I have heard that you are looking after a beautiful girl; I have come to ask for her."

But Virabadra answered: "I am a jungle man and I have always lived in the jungle, how should I have a girl with me? Who told you that I was looking after a beautiful girl!"

So the boy told Virabadra how it was that he had slept under a tree in the jungle and how he had heard the parrots talking to each other. And he told Virabadra of the girl's sister and all that she had said.

When Virabadra heard this he was very pleased, for he thought: "If even the birds talk to this boy, then he must be a very good boy."

He cannot be an ordinary, jungly Chenchu." And he agreed to give the boy the spirit girl as wife, but he asked the boy to stay with him, since he was a very old man and had no one to look after him.

But the boy wanted to take his wife back to his own village and said: "No, if I marry, I must take my wife to my parents' place." And he put garlands of flowers round the girl's neck and married her there in the house of Virabhadra and the same day they set out for his home-village.

It was a very long way from the part of the jungle where Virabhadra lived to the place of the boy's parents and the young couple were overtaken by darkness before they reached home. So they decided to spend the night under a tree in the forest. Before they went to sleep the girl took a ring from her finger and gave it to her husband and said to him: "Keep this ring, for there may be times when I will leave you and go to other places, but when you want me, put some flowers on a teak-leaf and put the ring on top of the flowers, and I will come to you."

Then they both lay down under the tree and went to sleep. At midnight a rakshasi from Burdi Boga Vagu (near Appapur) came through the jungle and seeing the boy and the girl sleeping under the tree, she picked up the girl and flew through the air to her cave, which was in a great rock. While the rakshasi carried the girl through the air she woke, but she was powerless and could only pluck the flowers from her garland and throw them one by one to the earth where they turned into gold beads as soon as they touched the ground.

In the morning the boy woke up and found that his wife had disappeared; although he looked everywhere for her, she was not to be found. But suddenly he saw a small gold bead, and directly he had picked it up he saw another a little way away, and he picked this up too, until at last by following the path of the golden beads he came to a huge cave in the rock.

As he stood in front of the cave he thought: 'This must be the cave of a rakshasi and it must have been she who carried away my wife.' Then he remembered the ring, which his wife had given him. And while he was thinking of her, he was transformed into a mouse, and in the shape of a mouse he ran into the cave; there he found twenty beautiful girls and among them was his wife. As soon as he entered the cave, he assumed his natural shape and talked to his wife, but in the evening he turned into a mouse again and ran out of the cave.

This went on for eight days, each day he entered the cave as a mouse, and spent the day with his wife, and every evening he ran away as a mouse. During this time he and his wife watched all the habits of the rakshasi who was like a woman and who went to the jungle every

day to feast on dead bodies.

Then the boy thought of Virabadra and prayed to him and said: "Without your strength I cannot rescue my wife, please come and help me." And that night Virabadra appeared to the boy in a dream and taught him how to gather leaves from the trees, and to pile them in front of the rakshasi's cave, and to set them alight while she was inside.

So the next day the boy collected many leaves, in the evening he piled them in front of the cave and set them alight; the smoke blinded the rakshasi and she fell into a deep sleep. Then the boy entered the cave and brought out all the girls, and he rolled a big stone over the entrance to close it so that the rakshasi could not get out.

The girls were overjoyed at escaping from the rakshasi; the boy treated them kindly and found out where each one lived and sent them back to their own villages. When he had done all this he took the spirit girl home to his parents and made a great marriage feast and later they had many children; there was always lots of food and they all lived very happily.

THE RAKSHASI AND THE GODDESS VIDAMMA

Once upon a time there was a Chenchu village where all the people were very rich. They planted millet and rice, and went only now and then to the jungle to collect fruit and roots. But close to the village, at Vuti Buga Vagu, there lived a rakshasi called Votisan ("one-breasted") and whenever the people had collected roots or hunted squirrels, lizards, and other animals the rakshasi came into their houses and took the food from the cooking pots. No one ever saw the rakshasi, and all the people wondered what happened to the food they were cooking. There was a lot of quarrelling for one Chenchu was always accusing the other of having stolen the food from his pot.

One day all the people went to the jungle to collect roots and when they had already quite a lot in their baskets, Votisan appeared in the shape of an old woman. The people asked the old woman, where she came from and what she was doing in their part of the jungle and the old woman said: "I have come a very long way, all my relatives have died and I have no one to look after me, but as I heard that there were many people in your village, I thought that if I came and begged some food you would give me something to eat."

So then all the people were sorry for the old woman and each gave her some of their roots. But the old woman said: "I am all by myself, could I not come with you to your village and stay with you for some time?"

Once more the people were sorry for the old woman, who had no one to take care of her, and so they allowed her to go with them to

their village. And Votisan went with them, and she sat down near the fire and handed the roots to one of the women who offered to cook for her. But while all the other people were busy with their housework and the preparation of their food, Votisan, unseen by any one, went to each house in turn and took food from each cooking pot and ate it, so that when the villagers wanted to eat their food there was very little left.

Next morning the villagers went again to the jungle to collect roots, but Votisan remained behind in the village. As soon as the people had disappeared, she turned into a rakshasi and seized two of the children and carried them through the air to a lonely place in the jungle, where she killed them by hitting their heads on a stone, and then she roasted and devoured them.

When the villagers came back they discovered that two of the children were missing, and that evening the food again disappeared from their pots. No one suspected the old woman, who sat huddled up by the fire, but all the men went to the jungle and prayed to Vidamma to help them in their plight. That night Vidamma appeared to them in a dream and promised her help.

But the next day the rakshasi again devoured two children and stole the food from the cooking pots and though the people prayed again to Vidamma and the goddess again reassured them in a dream, the same thing happened every day till in the end eight children were missing.

Then the villagers complained bitterly to Vidamma that in spite of their prayers and her promises of help, more and more of their children disappeared. Once more Vidamma assured them that she would give them her help.

So the next evening, when Votisan sat near the fire in the hut where she was staying, a strange woman came and sat down beside her, and this strange woman, as Votisan immediately realized, was the goddess Vidamma. At this Votisan became very frightened, because she knew that she was powerless against the goddess. Vidamma caused Votisan to be rooted to the earth, and she took a piece of chalk out of her *sari* and threw it on the ground, so that it broke in two and each piece turned into a tin of oil. Vidamma then took one tin and opened it and poured all the oil over Votisan and set her alight with a piece of burning wood. And Votisan flared up and all the people were terrified, but Vidamma said: "Do not be frightened, I am Vidamma and I have come to help you."

Then the rakshasi passed water to extinguish the fire, and the flames subsided, but Vidama opened the second tin of oil and poured it over Votisan. At this Votisan turned into a rakshasi, but even then she could not move from the ground and she went on burning. Only

when she was three quarters burnt and knew that she must die if she stayed longer, did she turn into a bat and fly away.

Then Vidamma said to the Chenchus: "Do not be afraid this rakshasi will never trouble you again." But the people said: "What good is that to us? Our children are dead and will never return to us."

Then Vidamma lit a great fire and as it burnt, all the children came out of the flames and returned unharmed to their parents. There was great rejoicing and all the people collected food and placed it in front of Vidamma as a thank offering.

THE WOMAN WHO MARRIED THE BEAR

There was once a large *tuniki* tree (*Diospyros melanoxylon*) ladened with beautiful fruit. But although the fruit was quite ripe, it did not fall to the ground and as the tree was very high and the trunk was very thick no one could climb up and pick the fruit. The people used to come and stand under the branches and look up at the lovely fruit, but as it never fell down they had to go away again.

Now in the jungle, quite near to the *tuniki* tree, there lived seven brothers and four sisters and one day when the youngest brother came to the tree, he looked up and saw a big bear sitting in the branches and eating the fruit. But the boy could not see very well and he thought that it was an old man, and so he shouted: "Hi! grandfather, please shake the tree so that I can have some of the fruit too."

But the bear answered: "I'll shake the tree for you, if you will give me your sister as wife."

The boy only thought of all that ripe fruit and said: "All right, I'll give you my sister, but you shake the tree." Then the bear shook the tree until all the branches trembled and the fruit fell to the ground. The boy called his brothers and sisters, and they came with many large baskets and collected the ripe fruit. Then one by one they set their baskets on their heads and went home, till none but the youngest and smallest sister was left, for she had helped the others to lift their baskets on their heads, and now there was no one to help her with her basket; but the youngest boy turned round when he had gone a little way and shouted: "Hi! grandfather, there is my sister, do with her what you will."

The bear climbed down the tree and the little girl was so frightened that she tipped over the basket full of fruit and tried to run away with her empty basket. But the bear ran after her and caught her and took her to his cave.

The bear cared for the girl very well and always brought her plenty of fruit. So she began to like the bear and forgot all about her home and her brothers and sisters. After some time she became preg-

nant and said to the bear: "See, I am going to have a child, and now I need some rice and millet, for I am used to that kind of food, while here I get only roots. And when the child is born I will also want a *sari*."

The bear listened to the girl and said: "Don't worry, I'll get you all you want." And he went to a path where the people carried rice and millet to the village and frightened them so that they dropped their loads, and then he picked up their goods and brought rice and millet to his wife. In the same way he obtained pots for cooking and cloth to make a *sari* for the girl.

When the child was born it was a little bear child, and the big bear was very pleased and provided the girl with lots of food and everything else that she required.

For many years the bear and the girl lived together and she had seven children, who were all bear children.

Then one day, when the big bear had gone to the jungle, and the girl was rocking her smallest bear child in a *sari* hammock and singing, "Oh, my little bear child, that has been born to me....", her seven brothers passed near the cave and hearing her voice they said to each other: "That must be our lost sister." And as they had bows and arrows and knives and axes they ventured into the cave and found their sister.

But the girl led her brothers out of the cave and said: "You must be careful and hide in that large tree over there, for soon the bear will come home and he is very fierce and strong."

"We are not afraid of the bear," said the brothers, "for we have bows and arrows and knives and axes." And instead of climbing the tree they went into the jungle and collected a great quantity of wood.

The sister went back into the cave and after a time the bear came home, but he did not suspect anything and went to sleep.

Then the girl carried out all her pots, and cloths and stores, and the seven brothers piled wood at the entrance of the cave and made a big fire.

The bear and the bear children were all choked with the heat and the smoke and were killed; only the smallest bear child squeezed through a very small hole on the other side of the cave and escaped. That is why there are still so many bears in the jungle.

The girl, however, went home and lived happily with her brothers, for Bhagavantaru had protected her all the time.

THE MONKEY AND THE DRUM

In the old times, when men had no drums, a man went hunting in the jungle and saw two monkeys, a male and a female, in the branches

of a tree. The male monkey was playing on a drum and both monkeys were very happy and danced among the branches of the tree. The man wanted to shoot the male monkey, for in the old days men were not allowed to shoot female animals, but his arrow missed the mark and by mistake wounded the female monkey.

Then the male monkey took the female monkey on his back and carried her to the ground; he put some medicine on the wound and then he began playing on the drum to try and divine whether his wife would live. But in spite of the medicine the female monkey died; the male monkey wept and wailed for a long time. In the end he buried the female monkey and heaped stones on the grave and on top of the stones he put his drum.

Now the man had been watching all the time, and when he saw the male monkey leave his drum on top of the female monkey's grave, he went and picked it up and took it to his village. There, he told the other people how he found it and he tapped it with his hands to show how it was played. Only gradually did men learn to play the drum with sticks.

When the man, who had killed the female monkey died, his relatives took the drum, but in the end it got lost. By that time, however, other people had learnt to make drums out of wood and hide, and like the monkeys men and women dance when it is played.

THE ORIGIN OF THE TOKAL AND SIGARLU CLANS

There were once two brothers, who lived together and cultivated the same land. One brother planted plants and trees in a straight line for a very long way, so that it looked like a tail, but the younger brother planted trees and plants in a square.

Now the man who had planted trees in a straight line—the tail man, the Tokal man—had a son and he married the daughter of the man who had planted trees in a square, the Sigarlu¹ man; they went to live in the Sigarlu grove and ever afterwards their children were known as the Sigarlu people. The Sigarlu man too had a son, and he married the daughter of the Tokal man; and they went to live in the 'tail' grove and ever after their children have been called Tokal people.

THE SADHU AND THE FIRST CHENCHU

In the days when all the people in the land were graziers (Gollas) a great *sadhu* lived in the jungle. This *sadhu* was a very holy man and he could tell people's fortunes. So all the people collected together and went to the *sadhu* to have their fortunes told, but the *sadhu* would

1. The name Sigarlu seems to have no connection with a "square," and the point of the story is therefore somewhat obscure.

not speak to any of them. This made the people very angry and they determined to play a trick on the *sadhu* in order to make him speak.

They dressed a boy in woman's clothes and tied a log of wood in front of his stomach, so that he looked like a pregnant woman, and took the "woman" and an offering of fruit to the *sadhu*.

"We are having great difficulty with this pregnant woman," they said, "and we should like to know if she will die when she bears her child?"

The *sadhu* knew all things and understood the trick and he looked at the people and said: "When the child of this woman is born, all these people will die."

At this, the people were very disappointed and began to disperse, but when the boy tried to take the piece of wood from in front of his stomach, it jumped up with the spirit of the *sadhu* in it and killed him, and then it jumped all among the crowd killing everyone.

When all were dead the log of wood became quite limp and lay down beside the *sadhu*. Of all the people in the land, only one boy escaped and he ran away into the jungle. There he wandered about until he met other *sadhus*, and to them he told all that had happened. The other *sadhus* pitied the boy and offered to go with him to the great *sadhu* and to explain that it was all a joke.

The great *sadhu* listened to the other *sadhus* and at last agreed to forgive the boy, if he would promise always to live in the jungle. So ever afterwards he and his children lived in the jungle and were called Chenchu or Jungle men.¹

WHY CHENCHU WOMEN ARE NOT BEAUTIFUL

In the old times the Chenchus were very beautiful to look at. The men were very handsome and the girls were very pretty. Indeed Chenchu girls were so pretty that whenever a Sahib or a Nawab came, he took away one of the Chenchu girls.

Then one day the Hindu god Narsima fell in love with one of the most beautiful Chenchu girls. The beautiful Chenchu girl was called Chenchistral, but even though the god Narsima took her to his home and called her Chenchi Lachmi and she lived with the god's own wife, who was called Ardi Lachmi, she was very unhappy. And she prayed that in future all Chenchu girls should be born ugly with crooked noses and ugly eyes and black skin, for if they were born beautiful, the Nawabs and the Sahibs and even the gods would come and take them away.²

1. This story was told to me by Merkal Guruvaru, who had heard it while he lived in Sri Sailam. E. Thurston (op. cit. Vol. II, p. 43) also quotes a tradition according to which the Chenchus are descended from Collas, but to most of the Hyderabad Chenchus both these tales are unknown.

2. E. Thurston mentions a similar tradition of the Chenchus of Madras Presidency, the name of the Chenchu girl in that version is Chenchita and that of the god Narashimha. Op. cit. Vol. II, p. 42.

THE KISTNA RIVER.

In the old times the small rivers that rush down the hills did not flow anywhere, but only went round and round in one small place. Then one day a peacock showed them the way to the big valley of the Kistna, and now they all flow down and make the big river of the Kistna which flows round the world.

THE CLEVER HERDSMAN

There was once a herdsman who had a hundred sheep and goats, but one of the goats was lame. One day, as the herdsman was driving his flock up to the jungle, the lame goat lagged behind, for it could not walk as quickly as the others. When the herdsman noticed that the lame goat was lost, he went to a nearby village and stood in front of the stones sacred to Lingamaya and prayed: "I have lost my lame goat. If you will send it back to me, I will kill all my other ninety-nine goats and sheep for you. Only give me back my lame goat."

When the people of the village heard the herdsman praying in this manner to Lingamaya they wondered greatly and said: "What foolish man is this, to sacrifice ninety-nine good sheep and goats to get back one lame goat!"

But the herdsman, turning his head and covering his mouth with his hand, put his tongue in his cheek, as if to say, that the promise was only intended for the gods and that he wouldn't do anything so stupid.

Then the villagers laughed and said to each other: "What a clever man is this, who can trick even the gods."

THE ANIMALS AND BHAGAVANTARU

In the old times the Chenchus had a lot of cattle—buffaloes, cows, goats and sheep. And whenever they had a feast or a marriage or a *panchayat*, they killed the goats and the sheep, and whenever they wanted leather things, like belts, pouches or water-bottles, they took the cows and buffaloes to the Madigas, who killed them and ate their meat and then made all that the Chenchus required out of the skins.

When the animals saw that some of them were slaughtered every-time the Chenchus held a feast, they came together and discussed how best they could avoid always being caught and slaughtered. Then the cow and the goat and the sheep decided to bring their case before Bhagavantaru; but the buffalo went his own way and did not come to the council.

First the cow went to Bhagavantaru and complained that the Chenchus, whenever they wanted leather articles such as belts and

pouches and water-bottles, always gave cows to the Madigas, who slaughtered them and ate their flesh. But Bhagavantaru looked at the cow and said: "The Chenchus may not kill you, they shall only drink your milk, but the Madigas may kill you and eat your meat." Then the cow went away, and because she was not satisfied with this answer, she did not return to the Chenchus.

When the goat heard of how Bhagavantaru had answered the cow, he thought: "What will he say to me? I am such a handsome animal, perhaps he will want to catch me." So the goat went away without even approaching Bhagavantaru.

But the sheep said: "Whatever happens I must talk to Bhagavantaru," and she went to the god and complained that the Chenchus always killed some of her race, whenever they held a feast. And Bhagavantaru listened to the sheep and said: "You are such a nice animal and so good to eat, that I can't blame the Chenchus, I would even like to eat you myself." When the sheep heard what Bhagavantaru said, she was very sad and went away with bowed neck and resigned herself to be slaughtered. That is why the sheep always walk with bowed heads.

THE FISH, THE TORTOISE AND THE FROG

Once a fish, a tortoise and a frog met in a river, and as they had not met for a very long time, they greeted each other and said: "Brother, how are you? I have not seen you for a long time. Brother, where have you been and what have you been doing?"

And after they had talked to each other for some time, the tortoise asked the fish: "How long will you live in this river, brother fish?"

And the fish replied: "Oh! I am big and smooth and shining, I'll live a long time—certainly I'll live a hundred and ten years in this river."

Then the fish asked the tortoise: "And how long are you going to live in this river, brother tortoise?"

"Oh! I have a very strong shell to protect me against all dangers, I'll live at least a thousand and ten years. But how long will you live brother frog?"

"I am an old man," answered the frog, "and I may die any day. Perhaps I'll die today, perhaps I'll die tomorrow. Who knows?"

While they were all talking like this a fisherman came to the banks of the river and threw his net into the water and caught the tortoise, the fish and the frog. And he pulled in his net to see what he had caught. When he saw the fish he was very pleased, for he thought he would get a good price for such a large fish, and he cut a branch and stuck it through the fish's mouth and hung it up on a tree.

Then he turned to the tortoise, and he was again very pleased, for he thought what a large sum he would get for the shell of such a fine tortoise and he turned the tortoise over on his back and put a great stone on him.

Then he turned back to the net, and when he saw the frog he thought: "Oh! what a useless creature—it is not even one of the green frogs that you can eat." And he threw the frog back into the water.

The frog was very happy and swam away quickly, but as he swam he turned his head and called out to the fish: "How is it brother fish, I thought you were going to live for a hundred and ten years in this river?" But the fish could not answer for he had a stick in his mouth.

Then the frog shouted to the tortoise: "And you, brother tortoise, are n't you going to live for a thousand and ten years?" But the tortoise could not speak either, for he had a stone on his belly.

"Well," said the frog, "I said I might die today and I said I might die tomorrow, but I am still alive. I am just lucky." And he swam away.

PART VII
THE CHENCHU AT HOME

CHAPTER XXVI

DAILY LIFE

IN THE preceding chapters, we have reviewed the economic system, the social organization and the religious beliefs of the Chenchu, but analysed from so many different angles the daily round of his life has perhaps not yet taken shape, and before attempting to understand the fundamental traits of his character, we must follow him into his jungle home and watch him at work and during his hours of leisure. For the Chenchu life changes little with the seasons and his activities, though not monotonous in detail, are less varied in broad outline than those of an agricultural race. Indeed, if we observe any group of families from the early hours of dawn till the fires burn down at night, we will gain a picture of the Chenchu as he lives and has lived for thousands of years in the forests that were and are his natural home.

The first crow of the jungle-cocks does not rouse the Chenchu, but if he is woken, he throws some sticks on the glowing embers of the fire that has burnt through the night, and then turns over and sinks once more into sleep. It is only with dawn (*tella rindi*, "white comes") and the broadening of the light that life stirs in the village; the peacocks trumpet in the nearby thicket and the Chenchus slip out of their houses and disappear among the trees on the outskirts of the village to answer the calls of nature. Small shivering figures of children creep to a neighbour's house to beg fire and the women heap new sticks on the dead ashes; for cold is the bane of Chenchu life and his first thought on a chilly morning, before the sun has warmed the earth, is for the heat of a fire. In the mohua flower season or when the figs fall to the ground the Chenchu sets out even before day-break to gather these fruits, but he does not like to rise early and in the cold season the sun is well over the horizon (*poddu ekindi*, "sun gets up,") before the Chenchu leaves the shelter of his house and squats in front of the door, puffing at a leaf-pipe or doing odd jobs.

Mothers still the first cry of their infants and then, leaving them in the care of the father or some elder child, they take their water pots and go with other women to fetch water. Often the spring or well is as much as half-a-mile away and the women use the opportunity to wash before returning. Men, however, wash in the village; they pour a little of the water brought home into small vessels and, squatting beside the house, rinse their mouths, gargle and rub their teeth with a

forefinger dipped in charcoal; then they wash their hands. Children too squat beside the hut and wash in a perfunctory manner.

About two hours after sunrise the buffaloes are milked and then young boys drive the cattle to graze, while the calves are tethered to posts in the shade of some large tree.

There is seldom food in a Chenchu settlement in the early morning, for roots and fruits are consumed when brought home in the evening; there may be a handful of nuts, a little milk or some curd, and this is given to the smallest children, but the elder boys and girls, like their parents, generally wait for their first morsel until they gather it in the forest. It is, indeed, when hunger gnaws at the stomach and the sun, climbing over the tops of the trees, grows hot, that the men become restless and are anxious to be off; gossip groups disintegrate, points of digging-sticks are straightened, honey-baskets are tied on hips, axes are shouldered and the Chenchu is soon on his way. Once he has decided to move, lethargy falls away from him, and he is filled with energy and enthusiasm for the day's work and what it will bring. If a man has a bow, he will take it as well as his digging-stick on his daily excursions, but his primary occupation today is root-collecting and fruit-gathering and only occasionally does he leave his digging-stick behind and goes hunting or fishing.

Far over rolling hills, into deep valleys, and over steep ridges the Chenchu wanders in the search for food. He follows paths only when visiting other villages; but in his every day wanderings he makes his way swiftly and surely through the midst of the forest to the place where he expects to find food. There he spends the day, digging for roots or gathering fruits which he has long watched ripen. The lands of a village extend over considerable distances, and there are times when the men, visiting some far away corner of the collecting grounds, camp in the jungle for a night or two; on these occasions they make a fire as it grows dark, roast their roots in the embers and sleep within the orbit of its light and warmth.

Women like to linger in the village in the morning after the men have gone to the jungle. When they have swept out the house with brooms of stiff grasses, they collect in twos and threes on the spaces in front of the doors, and sit with their backs to the sun gossiping and feeding their infants. Hair is loosened and combed, and one woman performs for the other the friendly task of delousing.

As shadows shorten (about half past nine) the young girls take their digging-sticks and baskets and wander off in small groups; women cut grass with small sickles for the calves, carrying it home on their heads in huge bundles, and then they too disappear into the forest with their babies straddled on their hips or cradled in the crook of the arm to dig for roots or collect fruits. Men and women go to the jungle

hungry, but as soon as they have collected some handfuls of roots, they make a fire wherever they may be and roast enough to satisfy their immediate need.

During the greater part of the day the village is deserted but for children, calves and dogs. The children play round the houses and in the nearby jungle where they often dig for roots to allay their hunger till the evening meal. It is usually they who water and feed the calves at midday, but sometimes an old woman returns to tend the young stock and keep an eye on the children.

In the long hot afternoons when few living things stir in the forest, the Chenchu tiring of strenuous exertion seeks out the densest parts of the forest and reclines in the shade of spreading branches. Children gather near springs, where the foliage is thick, and if there is enough water they splash about in shallow pools and sometimes even swim. In the late afternoon women occasionally come to the water on their way back to the village to wash their *sari* on the stones.

As the sun sinks the village suddenly comes to life: women return with laden baskets and bundles of firewood, take their pots to fetch water and are soon busy with the preparation of the evening meal. Later, as the evening advances, the men come home; they have probably covered many miles during the day, and in the dusk (*mabbu*, "dim") they lounge outside their huts smoking and fondling their small children, while thin blue smoke curls through the thatch as the women cook.

Because a Chenchu sometimes returns in the evening with the bottom of his basket barely covered with roots, this does not mean that it is all he has been able to collect, but rather that he has already eaten his fill in the jungle. All that is brought into the village is cooked at once, but the members of a family rarely assemble for meals. Generally each takes his share and eats it when he comes in and thus wife and small children may eat before the husband returns from his daily excursion, while young boys who drive in the buffaloes at dusk may not eat till after dark. When a family is lucky enough to acquire millet, however, and porridge is prepared, all gather inside the house in the space to the right of the centre post; the woman of the house ladles out the food and places each portion in an earthen saucer or perhaps a large potsherd.

Sunset (*poddū gukendi*, "sun swallowed up") generally finds the villagers at home, but if night overtakes men in the jungle, they cut a bamboo and make a torch to light the way. On summer nights small fires are lighted on the spaces in front of the houses, and the Chenchus sit in the open enjoying the cool of the evening. But in the rainy and cold season families seek the comfort of their houses and as soon as it is dark crowd round the fires, closing the doors against wind and rain.

Unless there is a wedding or a funeral feast, or liquor has been distilled, Chenchus go to sleep early and by nine o'clock silence reigns in the houses. Only the panther's cough, as he goes to drink at the spring, the snort of wild pigs, or the bark of the dogs, if a wild animal approaches the village, break the stillness of the night.

CHAPTER XXVII

RECREATION

THE CHENCHU is a child of nature and through every vein of his life there runs the instinct to follow his own inclinations. Even his hours of leisure emanate that same spirit of independence, individualism and spontaneity which characterizes his more serious activities, and it is therefore not surprising to discover that adult Chenchus indulge in no organised form of sport, that children have few community games, and that both singing and dancing are expressions of mood, based on improvisation rather than on stereotyped forms.

Hunting to the Chenchu is not a sport, but a means of filling his stomach, and although there are still a few famous hunters on the plateau, the vaunting of their prowess is due to the delicacies they provide and not to their comparative skill in marksmanship. The Chenchu does not hold races or wrestling matches or indeed any other kind of games by which to try his strength, for if in the wanderings of his strenuous life he is able to procure enough food for himself and his family he is perfectly content and does not seek other means of proving his manhood. His chief recreation is smoking and gossip, and after a hard day in the jungle he likes best to sit peacefully in front of his house with a leaf-pipe. Women seldom smoke but they gossip an inordinate amount and though life on the plateau seems flat enough to those used to more complex cultures, it provides an endless theme for Chenchu tongues.

Most of children's play consists in imitating their elders, in playing at life itself. Toys are few, and not very popular, but small girls sometimes play dolls with formless chips of wood or hard unedible fruits, dressing them in minute scraps of old cloth while boys of three and four play hunting with miniature bows and light arrows, made of bamboo splinters, and occasionally spin tops (*bura*) made of wood-apples (*Feronia elephantum*), which they squat to gyrate with string on the hardened spaces in front of the houses. Four, five and six year old children sometimes imitate animals; they pretend to be buffaloes, crawling on hands and knees along a jungle path, while one of their number drives them home and tethers them to a clump of bamboos, or boys impersonate bears, growling and pawing the younger children, who scatter before their coming with shrieks and yells. In the late

afternoons children of both sexes occasionally play hide and seek (*zebiliga tarka*) among the trees on the edge of the village-clearing and often they will resume their games after dark, chasing round and round the houses so that the whole village resounds with their voices and the thud of their feet.

Young men often amuse themselves in the evening by picking out simple tunes on a pan-pipe (*naga seram*) or a guitarlike string instrument (*kineri*) (cf. p. 42), but there is never any concerted effort or indeed very much continuity in their playing, and curiously enough they never sing. It would appear that Chenchus have no songs of their own, though they are definitely musical and the women whom I heard singing snatches of plains melodies had pleasant voices. A mother will sometimes croon to her child, but the words are improvised; she sings, as she says, 'what she likes.' Chenchu men too under the influence of liquor will chant, but there are no prescribed words and their outbursts take the form of personal taunts or comments on current events. 'Men' I was told, 'never sing, but when they dance they shout.'

Young people, however, have a small repertoire of games, and on warm evenings they will collect on an open space near the village and amuse themselves in the half light of the house fires. Girls of eleven and twelve take part in these informal and inconspicuous entertainments, but in small villages, those as young as six and seven also join in.

One night in February, after I had distributed a large quantity of millet in Boramacheruvu, the girls began dancing under the trees near my tent. It was full moon, and they danced, because, as they said, 'they had eaten well and were happy.' The men and women of the village sat watching in their shelters round their fires, but not even the young wives made an attempt to join the girls, who included Lingama's daughter Gengi and Guruvi, the eldest daughter of Guruvaru (Nimal), and Papama's daughter Kanama. Anmi the seven years old daughter of Gengi (Nimal) begged to be allowed to join in and her inclusion opened the ranks of the dancers to all the younger children, Guruvi, the daughter of the *peddamanchi*, Lachi, the youngest daughter of Guruvaru (Nimal), and the two youngest daughters of Papama, Yenkatama and Lingi.

The first game was accompanied with a song and was called *Badhana Padam*. The girls formed a circle, and walked with lilting steps round and round the kneeling figures of the two smallest children clapping their hands in time to a low chant; each time they came to a certain point in the circle they kicked one foot in the air, and then once more continued their lilting steps. Of the meaning of the song, which they had apparently heard in the plains, the girls themselves were not quite sure, but they chanted the words in rhythmical sequence and did

not seem to mind that the sense was slightly obscure.

<i>Kondana</i>		<i>Modana</i> ¹		<i>narikalo</i> ²
<i>Kondana</i>		<i>Modana</i>		<i>narikalo</i>
<i>Vata poya</i>		<i>Ramalu</i>		<i>narikalo</i>
Hunting went		<i>Rama</i>		<i>narikalo</i>
<i>Bangari</i>		<i>pasela</i>		<i>narikalo</i>
Gold		shoes		<i>narikalo</i>
<i>Bangari</i>		<i>bedla baku</i>		<i>narikalo</i>
Gold		knife		<i>narikalo</i>
<i>Pirikiri</i>		<i>vodle tishi</i>		<i>narikalo</i>
Handful		paddy was taken		<i>narikalo</i>
<i>Kona</i>		<i>gore</i>	<i>volshe</i>	<i>narikalo</i>
End		nail	to husk	<i>narikalo</i>
<i>Sikiri</i>		<i>phul</i>		<i>narikalo</i>
Bean		flower		<i>narikalo</i>
<i>Sirige</i>		<i>tome</i>		<i>narikalo</i>
Pot		clean		<i>narikalo</i>
<i>Kona</i>	<i>gora</i>	<i>biyam</i>	<i>volshe</i>	<i>narikalo</i>
End	nail	rice	to husk	<i>narikalo</i>
<i>Ma chet pote</i>		<i>yeshira</i>		<i>narikalo</i>
With my hand pound		do		<i>narikalo</i>
<i>Amala</i>		<i>vayama</i>		<i>narikalo</i>
Mother		mother		<i>narikalo</i>
<i>Nilena</i>		<i>iyama</i>		<i>narikalo</i>
Water		give		<i>narikalo</i>
<i>Mi amma</i>		<i>mardela</i>		<i>narikalo</i>
Your mother		sister-in-law		<i>narikalo</i>
<i>Nen undam</i>		<i>mardi</i>		<i>narikalo</i>
I am (here)		brother-in-law		<i>narikalo</i>

The words of the song refer to Rama going hunting with golden shoes and golden knife; in passing he asks a woman to pound rice for

1. *Kondana*, *Modana*; two brothers who live in the sky, but of whom, as of Rama, the girls knew nothing.

2. The meaning of the word *narikalo* is unknown to the Chenchus; but *nariyal* means in Urdu 'coconut' and in popular language it is sometimes combined with the Telugu word *kai* (pl. *kailu*) 'fruit.'

him, to husk it with her finger nail and then to put it in a clean pot with some bean flowers. In the second part of the song Rama calls for water, which is brought by his sister-in-law.

Next the children played *Attanal samti kiche kiche ra*, which resembles the European game of "hunt the slipper." They sat cross-legged in a circle with their hands cupped behind and one of their number, known as the mother-in-law, circled round the outside with a string of beads in her hand,—she was deciding whom to choose as a daughter-in-law. Unseen she slipped the beads into the hands of one of the girls, who, however, made no sign that she was the favoured one. Then all began guessing which had been chosen, the 'daughter-in-law' making suggestions with the rest, but when her identity was discovered she jumped up and was chased round the outside of the circle by the mother-in-law. Sometimes she was too quick and the chase lasted for a long time and then the first girl once more assumed the rôle of mother-in-law and had to choose another daughter-in-law; but if caught daughter-in-law became mother-in-law.

After this game had been going on for some time, Yidga, the son of the *peddamanchi*, who until then had been sitting over the fire outside Guruvaru's shelter, suggested that they should all play *gumari kai ata* (pumpkin play) and even Animigaru, the small son of Gengi joined in. The children sat in a long line, one behind the other; they were all pumpkins but the last, who was a raja. One of the girls was a *banya*, and she approached the line of children asking each in turn; "Where is the raja?" To this each answered: "I don't know." When the *banya* arrived at the last of the line, and asked: "Where is the raja?" the answer was: "I am the raja" and the following conversation then took place:

"Raja, I want a pumpkin."

"You are a fool! You have left all the pumpkins behind you."

"Raja, I want a pumpkin."

"What is the use of coming to my house, when you have passed all the pumpkins on the way?"

"Raja, I want a pumpkin."

"You are a fool! But you had better come into my house and have something to eat."

"Raja, I can't come into your house, for I am afraid the dogs will bite me."

"You are a fool! I haven't any dogs only one small puppy which I will shut up."

"All right, raja, then I'll come into your house and have something to eat."

But no sooner were the words out of his mouth, than all the 'pumpkins' turned into 'dogs' and falling on their hands and knees, chased

the *banya* away.

By this time it was about nine o'clock and the evening ended with *kundal ata* (pot play), the offering for sale of pots full of various edible products, the pots being impersonated by children who were lifted by the elbows and carried round the village by two of their fellows shouting: "Here is a pot of millet, who will buy a pot of millet." But no one wanted the millet, and the girl was then tumbled on to the ground and another taken up to the shouts of: "Here's a pot of salt, who wants a pot of salt?" All the products offered for sale were those bought in the plains, and no jungle roots and fruits were named. *Kundal ata*, it is said, always concludes the evening and there was a great scramble in the middle of the village as the girls were thrown on top of each other.

Besides these there are several other games played by Chenchus. *Dongal ata* (thieves game), which is a kind of fox and geese, and *Dasko musko sangri buddi*, when a ring is hidden in a pot for which all make a scramble on the pronouncement of the words *dasko musko*; the one who secures the ring, hides it again and is the next to pronounce the words *dasko musko*. Although there may be other games known to the Chenchus, in the villages where I stayed the children always played these same games.

Newly married women occasionally join the games of the young, but as a rule adults do not take part and their only form of communal entertainment is the dancing during the mohua season. This is the most joyous and care-free time of the year, for the forest provides ample food and liquor is easily distilled from the sweet corolla of the mohua tree. Some families move to other villages where the flowers are particularly plentiful and where the company of kinsmen and friends adds to the attraction of drinking and dancing. Moreover, there is frequent visiting, for the news that a certain man will distil liquor and will keep open house on a certain day spreads quickly and friends and relatives from neighbouring villages assemble for the party.

While I was in Boramacheruvu, news came that the season had started in Rasul Cheruvu, a village in the foothills, and Yidgaru, the *peddamanchi*, said it would be three weeks before the first mohua flowers fell on our side of the plateau. From this time on the children were frequently to be seen on the jungle paths and in small clearings practising dance steps, while the men of the village regaled me with stories of what I must expect when they distilled liquor and began to drink and dance.

It takes ten *seer* of flowers to make two pots of liquor and so it is not every day that liquor is made in a settlement, but if the season is good, one or other of the men may distil every five or six days, and he acts as host to the rest of the inhabitants. Distillation rarely takes place

in the village itself, but somewhere in the depth of the jungle, where the pots can be well hidden in bamboo clumps, and the leafy branches of the trees provide plenty of shade for the revellers. Here, early in the afternoon men, women and even children assemble and exhilarated by the pungent smell of spirit, loll about on the ground smoking leaf-pipes and laughing and joking with each other.

At the first drinking party of the season the Chenchus make an offering to Garelamaisama (cf. p. 183), but on subsequent occasions they pour only a few drops on the ground in the name of this deity. The *peddamanchi* and the old men are the first to drink after Garelamaisama has been served, and then the young men and the women, and lastly the boys and girls receive their share. The old men are very insistent on a first and larger share, and I once saw a man leave the party in disgust, because in his son-in-law's village he was not accorded the precedence due to his age. The best liquor is the first, but the quantity of this brand is generally limited and the first pot is apt to run dry before it reaches the women. This causes a good deal of grumbling, but after some time, when the second pot is passed round their hearts melt with the warmth of the spirit and they mingle freely with the men and joke with them in the most intimate manner.

Mohua spirit is drunk straight off like vodka. There are no such half measures as sipping. The head is tilted back and the whole contents of the shallow vessel are swallowed in a few gulps. "It makes you warm inside," Guruvaru said, "I could drink a whole pot by myself, but I never get a chance." But even given the opportunity, I very much doubt whether he could, for mohua liquor is extremely potent and as far as I can judge, Chenchus have not very strong heads. The quantity a man consumes at a drinking party can really be reckoned in mouthfuls. If he is lucky his share will be three or four mouthfuls a time, but between each serving there are long pauses when fresh liquor is being made and when the effects of the first draft have time to pass off. Yet there can be no doubt that whatever the quantity, it is sufficient to make the Chenchu drunk and in those villages where he has other sources of food supply and does not need to eat most of the flowers, he does drink to excess during this one season of the year. In the intoxication of the first hours, moods wax in turn garrulous, hilarious, and quarrelsome; it is only as the light begins to fade and the last of the liquor is potted and carried to the village, that the young men turn to the drums and the dancing begins.

In large villages there are sometimes two drummers, but in an ordinary Chenchu settlement only one man plays at a time, though the drum changes hands many times in the course of the evening. The main function of the drum is to measure the rhythm for the dance. The introduction, that presses the dancers into action, is a simple rhythm



FIG. 63. Chenchu dancing with stick and knife.



FIG. 62. Prayer during a ceremony to avert disease.



FIG. 64. *Tuning the drums over a fire.*





FIG. 66. *Dance at Boramacheruvu.*



FIG. 67. *The peddamanchi of Boramacheruvu enacting a hunt.*

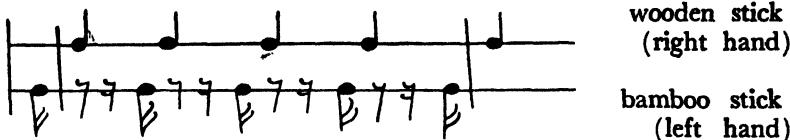


FIG. 68. *Phase in a dance at Rampur during the mohua season.*

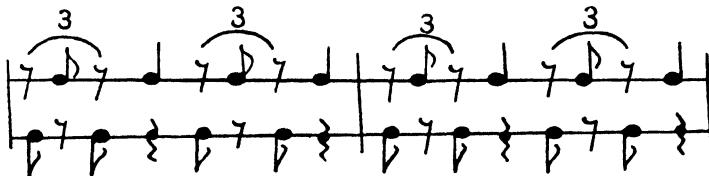


FIG. 69. *Phase in a dance at Rampur.*

with one tap from each drumstick :



The beat of the drum, however, changes to one with trioles for the dance itself, being produced by successive taps from both sticks :



Dancing holds no religious or magical significance for the Chenchu ; to him it is a purely social function, and one in which he indulges when he has imbibed liquor. Since toddy is expensive and difficult to obtain on the plateau, the Chenchu only dances during the season of the mohua flowers.

In the old days, it is said, " women did not drink liquor, but remained nice and quiet," and when men danced they were not allowed to watch ; if small children came and looked on, it did not matter, though they generally ran away because they were frightened, but if a married woman ventured near the dancers, she was beaten. Even today it sometimes happens that the men force the women into the houses when they are very drunk, forbidding them to come out, and the prayer that accompanies the offering of the first mohua liquor to Garelamaisama is a petition to the deity to prevent them from committing ' mistakes ' while they are under the spell of the mohua flower spirit (cf. p. 183).

Nowadays, however, it is generally women who are the first to answer the call of the drum. Their dance is highly conventional and based on a sequence of formations executed with springs and lilting steps. They bend the body forwards and upwards as they dance, and holding the tip of the *sari* in one hand swing it in time to the beat of the drum. Marking the rhythm by the supple raising and lowering of the heel at each step, they move in circles and couples and figures of eight. It is on the alternation of such figures, which all seem to have been borrowed from the dances of plainsfolks, that the variety of their dance depends.

The women's pleasant and mild performances do not last very long and the stage is soon invaded by first one man and then another, who insinuate themselves into the midst of the women, literally dancing

them off the scene. There is no clear division between the dances of women and men, nor does the drum stop its incessant throbbing, but within a few moments of the entry of the first man not a woman remains on the dancing ground which is henceforth occupied only by men.

The great divergence in style between the dances of men and those of women lies primarily in their conception, for while women execute a series of set figures, men's dances are the creations of their own imagination, centred on certain themes on which they freely improvise. There is no ensemble in men's dances, each man joins the dance when he will, and the steps he executes are an interpretation of his own mood (Figs. 66, 68, 69). When he is exhausted, he throws himself on the ground, and perhaps refreshes himself with a mouthful of spirit. Thus the stage though rarely deserted is sometimes crowded with moving figures and sometimes exclusively held by one man.

The men's dances are dramatic; they are naturalistic and often exaggerated representations of events in Chenchu life, for which are donned those accessories most called for by the theme of the dance. Sometimes the men smear their bodies with ashes, which they say, is how their forefathers appeared, for having no houses they slept among ashes to keep warm; and occasionally they replace the small apron that covers their private parts by bunches of leaves, or dance in complete nudity.

All dances are executed with strict observance of rhythm; steps are synchronized with the beat of the drum, which is regulated by verbal directions. "Faster, faster," shout the dancers, and the drummer doubles his beat, and with the quickening of the time the Chenchu shortens his step and covers less and less ground, until drawn ever closer to the drum's magnetic throbbing he is twisting, turning, leaping and hopping within a small radius. When the dancers are exhausted the drummer gradually resumes a slower rhythm and the dancers spread out once more over the whole of the dancing ground. Then the beat is stamped out by the forward foot, and accentuated by the alternate flexing and stiffening of the knees and at times by the turning of the shoulders to correspond with the leading foot.

A favourite dance is the *nemali ata* (peacock dance); the men carry bows and arrows, and tie honey baskets to their hips. If one possesses a gun this will be included among his properties, but whatever the implements they are used with maximum effect. In the peacock dance is embodied the whole technique of hunting; the creeping through the jungle, the taking of cover behind trees, the crouching for a shot at a peacock, the sudden freezing on sighting the prey, the aiming of the arrow, and the drawing of the bow; success may be achieved in a few minutes, or it may take half an hour to bring down the imaginary prey (Fig. 67).

The *kondamusel ata* or the dance of the black-faced monkey is danced with no properties; the men clench their fists, swing their arms like clubs, and dance with bent knees perhaps in imitation of monkeys.

The *aripilla ata* or *bogamvalu ata* (dancing girls' dance) portrays an amorous adventure; women, however, are forbidden to take part in men's dances and the girl's part is always enacted by a man, dressed up in a *sari* or carrying a rolled-up goat skin under his arm (Fig. 65). The lover carries a knife and a basket on his hip and sometimes ties a frayed piece of matting into his hair, to resemble the 'long tails of hair of the forefathers.' This dance opens with a kind of courtship, in which the 'girl,' keeping two or three paces away, counters each movement of the lover, but as the drum quickens, the dancers become excited, the space between them diminishes and eventually one pursues the other, the initiative generally being taken by the 'girl,' who fondles her lover, caressing his face and his body with fulsome movements.

When discussing the properties used in this dance, I was told that as long as the Chenchus had no houses but lived in hollowed trees and under great rocks, their only possessions were goat skins, on which they slept, gourds which they used for carrying water and knives without which they never ventured. And this is why before the adoption of clothes the man enacting the part of the 'woman' was required to adopt the feminine properties of gourd and goat skin to lend conviction to his rôle.

The theme of another dance may best be described as marital jealousy. This dance is essentially a continuation or a variation of the *bogamvalu ata*, and the properties used correspond to those of the former version, though the 'wife' generally wears a *sari*. Husband and 'wife' move up and down the dance space very much as before, but the 'wife' while dancing with 'her husband' does her best to encourage by looks and caresses any likely lover in the crowd. Her efforts cause great hilarity, and as 'her husband' becomes furious at 'his wife's' behaviour, she intensifies her attentions on the man she has selected. But when the would-be lover touches the 'wife' he is immediately set upon by the 'husband,' who lunges forward and pursues him. After the chase has continued for some time a 'big man' enters the dance; he seizes the 'wife' and strips her of her clothes in punishment of her shameless conduct.

The main actors in such dances as the *bogamvalu ata* are not necessarily alone on the dancing ground, but they often enact their drama amidst the medley of other dancers and no prearrangement seems to exist as to who shall take the parts of 'lover' and 'big man.'

Slightly different in character is the dance called *gumari kai ata* (gourd dance); one man ties a gourd by a short string to his hair so that it hangs down his back between his shoulders and another chases

him with a long stick, trying to smash the gourd. It is in mingling with the crowd, in dodging among the other dancers and in turning the head and shoulders swiftly and sharply so that the gourd jumps up and down and swings from side to side that the victim does his best to evade his pursuer. The blows of the chaser are often misdirected and fall frequently on the shoulders of other dancers, but in these antics lies more than half the amusement of the dance and they are greeted with shouts and derisive yells.

The subject matter of the dances here described can unfortunately give little idea of the spirit in which they are performed, or the exhilaration and excitement with which their execution inspires the Chenchu himself. Once a year the mohua spirit rings up the curtain of Chenchu reserve and reveals his genius for dramatisation. Through the medium of the dance, every theme of which is an exaggeration of customary behaviour, he escapes from reality into the realm of his own creation.

CHAPTER XXVIII

LIFE STORIES

IN THE course of the preceding analysis of Chenchu culture I have repeatedly called upon the witness of those men and women who were my chief informants, and have used their particular experiences and conditions as examples for my generalizations. Thus the reader will have become acquainted with some isolated events in their lives, but he will hardly have gained a coherent picture of any individual Chenchu and the life he has led. In this chapter I have therefore collected several accounts which Chenchus gave me of their own lives, augmented where necessary by information relevant and typical of Chenchu mentality which I gathered from other sources. As a rule the life of a Chenchu is not very eventful, and few individuals have much to tell of the experiences of their childhood and youth. For the years that pass in the monotony of the daily search for food leave little impression on the memory and it is only such landmarks as marriage, the moving from one village to another, or the death of near relatives, that imprint themselves on the mind.

Members of primitive races are seldom able to give coherent and chronological accounts of their lives and every publication of such life stories needs therefore a certain amount of editing. Nevertheless, some anthropologists have succeeded in reproducing the accounts of their informants in the direct and personal form in which they were given, and have thus allowed primitive man "to speak for himself."¹ Two considerations have determined me to choose a slightly different form of representation. Firstly all my material was collected through the medium of an interpreter, which necessarily entailed a certain initial loss of vividness and personal colour, and secondly few of the Chenchus related the stories of their lives spontaneously or in a form sufficiently coherent to require no supplementation, either by questioning or the statements of other members of their group. The following life stories are therefore recounted in the third person, but I have tried to retain as much as possible of the original phraseology. Moreover, I have incorporated a certain amount of information on the members of the immediate family of the main character, in an attempt to give not so much a portrait of one individual man or woman, but to render a conversation piece in the setting of the family.

1. An admirable example are the life stories in Verrier Elwin's book *The Baiga*, London 1939.

The characters were chosen with a view to illustrating the various situations into which Chenchus have come during recent years. Guruvaru (Nimal) is fairly representative of the average man on the plateau, while Merkal Guruvaru's life shows the effects of contact with the Chenchus south of the Kistna River. Lingaru (Sigarlu) is one of the few Chenchus who took to ploughing when an attempt was made to introduce cultivation on the plateau, and Gangaru (Silam) seems to be typical of the Village Chenchus, whose present position will be discussed in Chapter XXX. I have also included the life of Gengi (Nimal), for though it may have been unusually varied, her experiences throw more light on the functioning of Chenchu society than those of women whose lives have run smoothly undisturbed by marital difficulties.

Guruvaru

Guruvaru of Nimal clan (Boramacheruvu House 4, Figs. 15, 74) is about thirty-six, but neither he nor any other Chenchu has an idea of his exact age. He has a cheerful, smiling face and curly hair and the most pleasant temperament I have met in a Chenchu. He is very humorous, quick-witted and always ready with an answer, and there is at the same time a certain shrewdness in his character whereby he always makes the best out of a situation. His words are accompanied with violent gesticulations, and when he relates a story he becomes so excited that the words tumble out of his mouth.

Guruvaru was born in Malapur and his father was the father's brother's son of the present *peddamanchi*, while his mother was of Menlur clan and came from Vatellapalli. His only brother is dead, but he has two sisters, Pedda Lachi, who is married in the plains' village of Lingal and Chinna Lachi the wife of the *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu.

As a little boy Guruvaru would go and play in the jungle and in the shallow pools near Malapur, and in the evening when he came home his mother gave him food and then he would go to sleep by the fire. When he grew bigger he used to go gathering roots and fruits for himself. In his youth times were much better; there were more roots and fruits and people got one *seer* of rice for one *seer* of mohua flowers. They also got money for the seeds of the *karaka chettu*.¹

Now the boys are no good at hunting, they only want to eat a lot and to lie down and sleep. But when he was young he was a good hunter. He shot many pigeons and hares. He would go out for the whole day and sometimes even for two or three days with some other boys of the village. They would sleep round a fire in the jungle at night. They were not afraid of tigers or panthers, but only of bears.

1. *Terminalia chebula*.



FIG. 70. *Guruvaru of Nimal clan.*



FIG. 71.

*Gangaru
and Gengi
setting out
on the
daily quest
for food in
the
parched
jungle.*

Then the forest officers came and they made him carry their loads from village to village, but they did not give him a single copper or any grain. It is only quite recently that they give the Chenchus millet, when they call them to work in the forest.

In those days he was very strong and many girls wanted him. They used to come and touch him with their hands and pinch him on the chest and shoulders, but he did not want any of them. He had no friendship with a girl before he married.

Then, one day Tokal Gengi of Boramacheruvu visited Malapur. She was very small and very pretty. Guruvaru liked her better than any other girl and though he was still very young and had no moustache he wanted to marry her. His parents discussed the matter with the parents of Gengi, but since she was already mature her parents would not wait till he was old enough, and so Gengi was married to Nimal Guruvaru of Irla Penta. This made Guruvaru very sad and he did not care about other girls. But when Gengi had two children her husband died, and during the following mohua season she came again to Malapur. Then Guruvaru was very happy. Gengi suggested that he should marry her and come to live in Boramacheruvu. He was so happy to marry her that he did not mind leaving his home village, but his parents were very angry that he should leave Malapur. However, Gengi wanted to live in Boramacheruvu and so his parents ultimately agreed and spent six or seven rupees on the wedding. Later his sister Chinna Lachi married Gengi's brother Yidgaru, the present *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu.

Guruvaru was very happy with Gengi and they had seven children, five sons and two daughters; all five sons died when they were small and now only the two girls are left. Guruvi who is about thirteen and Lachi who is three years old. One of Gengi's daughters of her first marriage died, and the other married a man of a village south of the Kistna.

Soon after her youngest daughter was born, Gengi became very ill; all her body turned black. She was ill for two or three months and though Guruvaru gave her milk in which he had boiled *chitra malam* leaves, the medicine had no effect and in the end Gengi died. Guruvaru was heart-broken and from that day he gave up hunting. He does not know what kind of illness caused Gengi's death. Perhaps, some man wanted to make love to Gengi, who was still very pretty, and because she refused him made black magic against her,—if Guruvaru knew who it was, he would cut his throat and not mind if he had to go to jail.

The last and not very glorious phase in Guruvaru's life came to pass during my stay on the plateau. When I arrived in Boramacheruvu Guruvaru was living in a little leaf-shelter with his two daughters

Guruvi and Lachi. Guruvi, although not yet mature, was very independent and self-willed and Guruvaru complained that she never paid any attention to what he said. But the three years old Lachi was continually with her father whenever he was in the village, and she occupied a great place in Guruvaru's affection. When I asked him, why he did not marry again, he pretended that he had no money for the wedding, and never gave a thought to finding a new wife. A few weeks, later, however, he made up his mind to marry Gengi, the daughter of his first wife's eldest brother, who had come to stay in the village during the hot weather. How the marriage came to take place has been described in Chapter XVII, and also the subsequent refusal of Gengi to go and live with her husband. Guruvaru, who left Boramacheruvu soon after the wedding and settled in his old village Malapur, was at first confident of overcoming Gengi's resistance, which he attributed to the reluctance of an immature girl and did not seem to take very seriously. But when I saw him last in the middle of July, about two and a half months after the wedding, he seemed to have resigned himself to the fact that Gengi would never join him. He was very angry with her and her mother Lingama for having put him into the ridiculous position of a husband whose wife refuses to live with him, and he swore that he would go to Appapur and give Gengi a good beating.

But as I know Guruvaru he will probably never take such a drastic step, and the fact that a marriage occurred will gradually lapse into oblivion, and Guruvaru will continue to live in Malapur with his two daughters.

Merkal Guruvaru

Merkal Guruvaru of Tokal clan, the *peddamanchi* of Appapur (House 1), is a man in his early forties, and one sees at a glance that he is different from the other Chenchus on the upper plateau. Often he appears with a small red caste-mark between his eyes and white horizontal lines across his forehead and he always wears a *rumal*. It seems that he is proud of his familiarity with Hindu customs, the acquisition of which dates from the time when he lived with his grandmother in the Chenchu village at Sri Sailam, and he has adopted more Hindu airs than even those Chenchus who live permanently in the village close to the famous temple. Merkal Guruvaru not only claims that he knows more than the other Chenchus, but also that he and his wife are far more respectable than all those who have not benefited by the contact with brahmins and *sadhus*. He likes to put on a sanctimonious look and say that he lives a straight and decent life, so that Shiva, the greatest of all gods, and Bhagavantaru, who gave him

life, should be gracious to his soul when he dies. But he has a sly look in his eyes, that is very different from the frank openness of the other Jungle Chenchus.

Merkal Guruvaru is not popular among the other Chenchus, who look askance at his pretensions and are inclined to mistrust his ways. Although Chenchus are as a rule discreet over each other's affairs, it was with a certain maliciousness that they recounted some of the less reputable episodes in his career. Guruvaru himself was clever in veiling these, and the story of his youth as he told it deviated from reality in more than one important point.

Guruvaru's grandfather was the elder brother of the father of the present *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu and went to live in Appapur where he became *peddamanchi*. When Guruvaru's father grew up, his parents took him to his mother's village on the other side of the Kistna River to find a bride and there he married a girl of the village of Sri Sailam. At first the young couple stayed in the house of the wife's parents, but after some time they built a house of their own. So Guruvaru and his brother were both born in Sri Sailam, but when their mother died their father returned with the two boys to Appapur, where he married again and had a son and daughter by his second wife. Soon, however, Guruvaru's father died too, and his maternal grandparents took the two boys back to Sri Sailam and brought them up in their house. When Guruvaru was grown up his grandparents married him to a girl of Shivarlu clan, and he built a house of his own in Sri Sailam and lived there with his wife.

But hardly were they married when his wife began an intrigue with Maligaru, a son of Guruvaru's father's brother; whenever Guruvaru was away from home, his wife went to Maligaru's house. It was not long before Guruvaru realised what was happening, but his wife would not listen to his reproaches; so in great anger he rushed to Maligaru's house and tried to hit him over the head with an axe, but instead of wounding his rival, he only hurt himself. Then he swore that he would kill Maligaru and for a time became quite mad, running from one village to the other. In the meanwhile, Guruvaru's wife went to live with Maligaru and after a time Guruvaru's grandparents made a *puja* for him and he regained his senses.

It was then that one of the rich Chenchus of Sri Sailam employed Guruvaru to guard his goats and this is why he is still called Merkal (goat) Guruvaru. At the same time a young girl, Poti of Pitavalu clan, grazed her parents' cattle and everyday the two young people met in the jungle. Poti was already married, but she still lived in her parents' house, for her husband, Menlur Lingaru, did not think her old enough to begin her marital life. But Guruvaru had no such scruples and everyday when they met in the forest he made love to Poti.

And so it happened that Poti became pregnant. When both her parents and her husband noticed her condition there was a great row and Guruvaru had to flee from Sri Sailam and returned to Appapur. When Poti gave birth to a daughter in her parents' house, Guruvaru went back to Sri Sailam to settle the matter, accompanied by Nimal Kanaru (Irla Penta House 10), who was staying at Boramacheruvu at the time, and Pulsaru Gangaru of Appapur (House 9), who both offered to lend him their support.

Then a council was held in Sri Sailam and Poti's husband demanded compensation. But Guruvaru had nothing with which to pay and it was the parents of Poti who refunded the marriage expenses. After this Guruvaru was allowed to take Poti and the child to Appapur, because all the scandal made it difficult for them to stay any longer in Sri Sailam.

This was about sixteen years ago and now Guruvaru and Poti have seven children; one son died when quite small. Poti is still a youthful slim woman with regular features and possesses fine gold ornaments and a quantity of beads, bracelets and toe-rings. She wears a full length *sari* and might easily pass for a woman of the plains. Her parents are still alive and once or twice a year they send her three or four rupees. Guruvaru possesses a few buffaloes, which his grandparents gave him to take across the river; at present he has three full grown cows and calves. With so much cattle and now and then a small amount of cash Guruvaru and Poti are wealthy according to Chenchu ideas, and although not very popular, he is recognized as *peddamanchi* of Appapur. Yet, he does not live there for more than half the year, but stays throughout the dry season on the hill above the tank at Boramacheruvu.

Poti does not lead the life of a Jungle Chenchu; she never forgets that she was born on the other side of the river. When Guruvaru goes digging for roots she stays in the house, looking after her many children and the buffalo calves. She says she never digs for roots; in Sri Sailam they had sufficient food and money; her father and her brothers all did coolie work and they had a lot of cattle. Thus she never learnt to gather food in the jungle. "Yes, on the other side of the river," she says, "we had plenty of *jawar* and *ragi*, but here I am starving with my husband, but we must stay here till he dies, for he has a *peddamanchi* job here."

Guruvaru's eldest daughter Nagama is already mature, but she is not yet married and this may be due to the fact that she lost one eye as a child. Last year Guruvaru took Nimal Lingaru of Appapur with him to Boramacheruvu with a view to marrying him to Nagama. At first Guruvaru told me that Lingaru was an orphan, whom he had kept in his house out of charity, intending to give him his daughter as wife, but

that the boy was ungrateful and ran away in the last rains. Later, however, I found Lingaru living with his mother and brothers in Appapur, and then Guruvaru changed his version of the story and said that Lingaru's family had made no provision for the wedding, and that he was not prepared to give Nagama to a man who would spend no money on a wedding feast and a *sari* for the bride. But Lingaru told me that Guruvaru made him work so hard that he got frightened and thought: 'If it is like that before I am married, how will it be afterwards.' Lingaru, who is a rather shy boy, did not sleep with Nagama while he stayed in Guruvaru's house, and that was interpreted by some as a sign of weakness or a lack of affection, but he himself pretends that Nagama did not give him a chance. I heard, however, that Nagama has a reputation for being easy with her favours and perhaps Lingaru did not relish such a wife.

Guruvaru's second daughter, Guruvama, is married to Sigarlu Paparu of Sri Sailam (Fig. 13), but since she is not yet mature she still lives with her parents. It is said that Paparu was to have married Nagama, but that when he saw the girls he preferred Guruvama. Now he would like to take Guruvama to Sri Sailam, for he is in need of somebody to look after his goats, but Merkal Guruvaru will not allow her to go and the girl herself does not seem very keen on joining her husband; whenever he is near she keeps close to her sister and never allows herself to be left alone with him.

The children of Merkal Guruvaru present quite a different appearance from the other children of Boramacheruvu and Appapur, for they are always neatly dressed and even the smallest ones wear many ornaments. Curiously they seem to suffer from fever more than other Chenchus and one or two are always to be found in their house on top of the hill, instead of in the open digging for roots like the other children of Jungle Chenchus.

Every year at the time of the annual pilgrimage to Sri Sailam, Guruvaru moves with his whole family to Sangrigundal, which is where the pilgrims stay for the night on their way to the temple. In these days he makes a considerable sum by selling the milk of his buffaloes and when he returns he is fat in the face from the sweetmeats and good food he has enjoyed, presumably at the hands of the passing pilgrims.

Gengi

Gengi, the wife of young Tokal Gangaru of Boramacheruvu (House 5), is one of the most attractive Chenchu women on the plateau (Fig. 70). Although she has borne three children, her slim and subtle body is perfectly modelled and her catlike movements are of a gracefulness of which she is hardly conscious. When she smiles, showing two rows of splendid teeth, her face is definitely pretty, but she is rather

temperamental and there are days when gloom sits heavily on her brow.

Gengi was born in Irla Penta as the daughter of Nimal Lingaru and his second wife Tokal Guruvi from Pullaipalli. She had many brothers and sisters; four are the children of her father's first wife and are much older than Gengi, but she has also a real brother and sister, who are both married in the plains' village of Lingal.

When she was a child her parents did not stay in Irla Penta all the year, but every hot weather they moved down into the valley. There they either built a shelter near the mouth of Yemlapaya Vagu, where her half brother Gangaru still settles, or they went a little further upstream and camped on the open rocky banks of the Kistna river. Her parents would go out every morning for roots and nuts, and sometimes they even crossed the river on rafts made of big bundles of branches to collecting grounds on the other side of the river. All day long she and the other children were left by themselves; they played on the big rocks and cracked nuts or pounded animal bones with stones, swallowing the powder to allay their hunger. They were forbidden to play near the river by themselves and it was only in the evening, when their parents returned, that they splashed about in the warm shallow water. Gengi used to help her mother carry up the water for cooking and many times she would go backwards and forwards from the river with her small pot balanced on her head.

Gengi liked those weeks on the river. They were different from life in the village; sometimes people from other villages would come and join her family. But towards the end of the hot season there was little left to eat in the valley of the Kistna, and they were all glad when the mohua season began. Then they returned to Irla Penta and had a great deal to eat—plenty of fruit and the sweet flower of the mohua.

Gengi was not yet mature when both her parents died, but since there had been some talk of her marrying Lingaru of Pulsaru clan of Appapur, her relatives hurried the marriage and she was taken to Appapur to live with her mother-in-law. Her husband was quite a nice boy, but she was too young to mind to whom she was married. Lingaru did not take very much notice of her and never made love to her or attempted to sleep with her.

Gengi had not been long in Appapur, when Lingaru suddenly died and it was just about the same time, that she had her first menses. Shortly afterwards Potaru, a man of Menlur clan, passed through Appapur on his way to visit his brother in Rampur. Potaru was a middle aged man, whose first wife, the daughter of Nalla Lingaru of Vatellapalli, had died sometime previously leaving him with a small daughter, and when he saw the young widow Gengi living with the mother of her deceased husband, he suggested marrying her. Her

relations-in-law were only too pleased to be rid of their responsibility and Gengi's own blood relations, living in far away Irla Penta and a plains' village near Lingal, took little interest in the matter. So Potaru was allowed to take Gengi to wife, without even giving a marriage feast or presenting his bride with a *sari* and *choli*.

Gengi did not like Potaru particularly, but what could she do? There was no one to take care of her, and he offered her at least a house of her own. So they settled down in Rampur where Potaru had a brother and lived as husband and wife. In less than a year Gengi gave birth to a daughter, who died within the first weeks, but she soon became pregnant a second time. Then Potaru developed a strange behaviour. He did not treat Gengi unkindly, but he would disappear for days, restlessly wandering from one village to the other, and even when he stayed in Rampur his mind was often distraught. The other villagers were very sorry for her and reproached Potaru for leaving his wife alone for so long, but this availed little and they soon realised that at times Potaru was not quite normal. Gengi's second child was also a girl and Potaru called her Anmi after Anumantaru (Hanuman), who has a temple near his home-village of Elpamachena. Gengi was not at all happy with Potaru; but her parents were dead and her small child tied her to Rampur.

When after five years of marriage she was going to have her third child, Potaru's condition worsened. He complained of pains in the legs and for weeks on end he was often unable to go out and collect food. Then, when his legs got better, he would leave Rampur and not return for long periods. The people of Rampur knew nothing of his doings during his wanderings, but they heard that he went to Vatellapalli and other places near his former village of Elpamachena. Once when he returned he said, that the goddess Ellamma had appeared to him in a dream and that he had made *puja* to her at her temple near Tirmalapur.¹ In the meantime Gengi was delivered of a boy, who was called Animigaru. Now Gengi had two children to care for and Potaru was no help; all the people in Rampur, even Potaru's brother, were sorry for her and blamed Potaru, because he always wandered about instead of seeing that his family had enough to eat.

Then during the next mohua season Tokal Gangaru (Fig. 14), the brother's son of the *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu, came to visit his mother, who lived in Rampur. He was young and strong and very handsome, with beautiful long straight hair and wonderful teeth. Gengi fell in love with Gangaru. One day, when Potaru was not at home Gangaru went into Gengi's hut to light his *bidi* at the fire, and just then Gengi came back from the well with a pot of water. As she put down the pot, she jokingly sprinkled Gangaru with water. Gangaru, sur-

1. cf. p. 189, 190.

prised at this overture, exclaimed: "How is it *chinnatta*,¹ that you sprinkle me with water?" But Gengi replied that he should not call her *chinnatta*, for were they not both young and of right clan to be lovers? Then she shut the door and they made love.

Soon Gangaru was so infatuated with Gengi that after staying several days in Rampur, he suggested she should come and live with him in Boramacheruvu. Gengi too was mad for Gangaru, and when Potaru returned she did not hesitate, but ran away leaving her two children behind.

The people of Boramacheruvu were not particularly pleased when Gangaru arrived in the village with Gengi and the situation was further aggravated by the fact that he was already married to Irama (Medimankal House 3) the daughter of his father's sister Papama. Irama was still immature and lived with her mother and Gangaru took no notice of her: he said he did not like her. Papama, however, hoped that his attitude would change when Irama grew up, but when Gangaru took another wife she saw Irama's chances dwindling and was furious with Gangaru.

At first Gangaru's relations tried to persuade Gengi to return to her husband. But Gengi was adamant. "Do with me what you will," she said, "but even if you cut my throat or make two pieces of me I won't go back to Potaru."

So in the end Gengi stayed in Boramacheruvu and after some days Potaru brought Gengi's two children and left them with her, for he said he could not look after such young children. Potaru claimed compensation from Gangaru, but he found no support; he had neither spent money on the wedding nor looked after Gengi and the children while they were in his house, and even the Rampur men took Gengi's part and were quite pleased that she had found another husband. During the next mohua season Gangaru invited the people of both Boramacheruvu and Rampur to come and drink liquor, and thus the abduction was formally condoned.

For a time all went well. Gangaru and Gengi were happy together. But when Irama grew into an unusually lovely girl, Gangaru began to regret having rejected her and Irama was much attracted by the handsome Gangaru, who was still legally her husband. To avoid complications Papama gave Irama to Tokal Lingaru (Fig. 34), the fourth son of the *peddamanchi* of Medimankal, but Irama liked Gangaru better than her new husband, who was a very young and rather insipid boy.

While I was in Boramacheruvu Gangaru lived with Gengi and her children in the jungle settlement (cf. p. 98), and to the outsider they

1. Gengi and Gangaru were approximately the same age, although Gengi was the sister of Gangaru's father's sister's husband, and Gangaru therefore addressed her as *chinnatta* (little mother-in-law). Cf. Genealogies I and III (Appendix III).

appeared a very happy couple. Other members of the group told me, however, that Gangaru was not faithful to Gengi, but took every opportunity of making love to Irama, who came several times to Boramacheruvu, ostensibly to see her mother. Gengi was furious at Irama's visits. But she was in a difficult position, for though she had lived with Gangaru for four years, she had not given him a child, and he complained that he had Potaru's children in his house and none of his own. Now and then Potaru came to Boramacheruvu and though Gangaru and Gengi both avoided any contact with him, the children were quite at ease with their father.

At the end of the mohua season, after I had left Boramacheruvu, the situation came to a climax. One day Gangaru had distilled some liquor and Gengi had gone to collect fruit, when Irama happened to come to the jungle settlement. Gangaru invited Irama to drink with him and then they both retired into his hut. But a few minutes afterwards Gengi came home from the jungle and discovered Gangaru and Irama in compromising circumstances. Gengi made a terrible row and Gangaru, furious too at being interrupted in his adventure and irritated by Gengi's violent reproaches, beat her so severely that for days she could hardly walk. To everyone in the settlement it was evident that things could not continue as they were. Gengi threatened she would commit suicide if Gangaru took Irama into his house, and eventually she succeeded in persuading him to move to Yemlapaya and join her half-brother Gangaru, where they would be well out of Irama's way.

About the same time Potaru visited Boramacheruvu and Gangaru told him curtly to take his children away, for he, Gangaru, was tired of having the children of another man in his house. Gengi eager to placate Gangaru at all costs raised no objection and so Potaru took Anmi and Animigaru with him to Vatellapalli to the house of Nalla Lingaru, his first wife's father. Nalla Lingaru is a wealthy man and takes an interest in Potaru on account of his grandchild Yelli, who has lived with her father ever since Gengi's desertion, and it is said that Gengi's children are quite happy in Vatellapalli, where they get plenty of food and Anmi helps Yelli to look after Nalla Lingaru's cattle.

Gangaru and Gengi, however, moved to Yemlapaya, and perhaps this separation from Irama will restore Gangaru's affection for Gengi, even though she bears him no child.

Lingaru

Lingaru of Sigaru clan is an old man of about sixty who now lives in Sarlapalli (Fig. 18). He is half blind and walks about with a stick and wears sandals to protect his feet against the stones and thorns, which

he cannot see. He is tall and powerfully built, and it is easy to believe that, as he says, he was extremely strong in his youth.

Lingaru was born in Vatellapalli. But in the old times his family lived in Sarlapalli and it was only his grandfather who moved to Vatellapalli. His grandfather was very rich and had many buffaloes and cows. When he died his three sons divided the property and Lingaru's father became also a rich man with many buffaloes.

When Lingaru was young he did a lot of hunting with bow and arrow and killed birds and rabbits, but 'peacocks were too difficult to shoot, they run away when they see you from afar.' Later, he hunted with his father's gun. He killed more bears than he can count and sometimes when he was unlucky and missed, he was chased by bears. But he ran so fast that the bears never caught him. Only once when a bear chased him and he tried to save himself by climbing a tree, did the bear climb up after him and catch him on the buttock with his claws. The blood gushed out of the wound and it made the trunk so slippery that the bear could not retain his hold and slid to the ground. This saved Lingaru. Bears are good to eat, and when he had shot one he would distribute the meat among all the village people.

Whenever he killed a bear, he roasted pieces of the heart, liver, and hind-leg, and gave them to Garelamaisama on the very spot where the bear had died. And when he did this he prayed: "Golden mother, we have got this bear, so we give some of it to you too. Next time we go hunting, give that we may find game once more." When he had four children, he killed a tiger. He tied up a goat and sat on a tree and from there he shot the tiger.

Lingaru's first wife was Lingi of Menlur clan from Elpamachena. She gave him eight children, four boys and four girls, but six of them died.

In those days, he was very rich and made a lot of money by selling calves. He owned a great number of buffaloes, cows and goats; he had four horses and bought beautiful gold ornaments for his first wife.

His father had no fields, but when Lingaru was married to his first wife the *tahsildar*¹ came to Vatellapalli and told the Chenchus that they should cultivate; Lingaru was allotted a piece of ground, for which he had to pay eight rupees every year. Then he bought a plough and used his own bullocks. For the plough he paid one big pot of millet. Then he ploughed the land and grew *jawar* and *ragi*.² He cultivated for twenty years, but now he has given it up, for he is half blind and can no longer pay the eight rupees. He did not give the field to his son, for his son is useless and only wants to eat so much. No other Chenchu in Vatellapalli ever cultivated with a plough, but some people turned

1. Revenue Officer in charge of a taluk.

2. *Sorghum vulgare* and *Eleusine coracana*.

up the soil with sticks. Nowadays, however, none of the Chenchus of Vatellapalli till the soil—only the Waddars.¹ It is not good that the Waddars stay there; they take all the fruits, which the Chenchus used to collect. It would be better if the Waddars went. This is Chenchu country and the Chenchus have always lived here.

When Lingaru's first wife died he married Muti of Nallapoteru clan from Chitlamgunta and they had three children, but all the children died and Muti too. Then he married Lingi of Menlur clan from Maradugu, a village on the lower plateau, but she too died after a year and a half and had no children.

Then about fourteen years ago he married Poti of Menlur clan from Ippalapalli. She had been married before, but her husband was dead. Poti had had six children by her first husband, but five of them died and the one surviving lived with relations in Maradugu. She only gave Lingaru one child and that died soon after it was born.

Until he married Poti he was very rich, but she brought him nothing but misfortune. Everything has gone wrong since she came to live in his house. All his cattle and his horses died; now he has only two buffaloes left. Poti is a very bad woman and only she can be the cause of his ill-luck. She does not even look after him properly, but runs away for days, leaving him without anybody to cook his food. He does not know where she goes, perhaps she is enjoying herself with other men; but after a few days she always comes back again. What can he do? If he threatens her, she disappears and then he is miserable all by himself in his house.

His son and his daughter live in Patur Bayal, a village so near to Sarlapalli that when the men of Sarlapalli quarrel and shout in the evening the noise can be heard in Patur Bayal. Lingaru's son had two wives, but both died, and now only his two youngest children remain in his house; the elder ones are married. When a boy, Lingaru's son was very ill and a *sadhu*, who happened to come that way, prophesied that he would recover, but grow into a useless man, never do anything for his father, and not even give him food. This has come true, and now his son does not want to live near Lingaru.

Lingaru's daughter was married three times, but all her husbands died and of her eight children only two are alive. The first husband was killed by a hyæna. The hyæna attacked his dog, and when he tried to drive the beast away, he was mauled so badly, that he died of the wounds; but he had succeeded in killing the animal.

When she married her second husband Lingaru gave his daughter one buffalo, one cow and several goats. She had them for a long time and they begot many calves, but when she was married to her third

1. Government settled a group of Waddars in Vatellapalli, in the hope that the Chenchus would learn from them how to cultivate.

husband all the animals died of disease. Now his daughter is doing her best to persuade him to give her one of his buffalo cows, but he does not want to part with them and when he dies they will go to his son.

He gave his daughter the valuable gold ornaments which he bought for his first wife. First he gave them to the second and then he gave them to the third wife, but the fourth wife was a bad woman and so he gave them to his daughter, who was married by that time.

Sometimes he dreams of his dead wives, but this does not mean anything. He does not know how it is that he dreams and whether his *jiv* goes away. When he is hungry he dreams of food, but he always wakes up before he has eaten even one handful.

Gangaru

Gangaru of Silam clan is an old man from Upnotla, a village on the lower plateau east of Amrabad. He is, therefore, not a real Jungle Chenchu, but in the mohua season he often visits his relatives in Sarlapalli. He is a very old man with a white moustache and bushy chin whiskers. There are hollows under his chest bones and the skin of his stomach is loose and pouchy, bulging slightly over his tight leather belt, but he is still very able and strong enough to climb up the hills to Sarlapalli.

His grandparents came from Karmalapalli, a village on the other side of the Dindi River, and settled at Upnotla. There were also people of other castes in the village, but Gangaru's grandfather lived with other Chenchus in a small hamlet outside the village.

Gangaru was born in Upnotla; in his childhood times were very good, and they had plenty of food. For eight annas you got so much millet that you could not carry it. His father did not cultivate a field of his own, but if rich men in the village wanted labourers, he would go and work and was paid three big *seer* of millet a day. These were Moghalayi *seer*, three of which were the same as five ordinary *seer*.

At that time the Chenchus had a lot to eat and when Government gave them bullocks to plough—one or two pairs for each village—they only tied up the bullocks and did not plough with them. When the Government saw this, Government took the bullocks away.

When Gangaru was a boy his parents used to take him to the hills to collect tamarind and mohua flowers. They visited many other villages, but they stayed only one or two days at a time and then returned to Upnotla. He sometimes hunted with bow and arrows, but he never shot anything very big.

When his moustache began to grow, they had still small four cornered rupees, and when they did work for the *patel*¹ they got one or

1. The *patel* is the officially recognized headman of an Indian village.

two or three of these rupees. In those days his father owned cattle and goats and sheep, but later, when food became scarce he sold them one by one.

Before Gangaru married he worked for one whole year for graziers, looking after their cattle, and at the end he was paid forty rupees. When he had the money in his hand he married the daughter of his mother's brother. Nowadays young men bother whether a girl has a straight or a crooked nose and whether she has nice eyes, but when he was young the boys and girls left it to their parents to find them a wife.¹ His bride was Menlur Vidama of his own village Upnotla.

Gangaru spent sixty rupees on his wedding. Forty rupees he received from the graziers and he borrowed twenty rupees from a *banya* and he repaid this later with chillies and onions and tobacco, which he and his father used to grow. He gave his bride a *sari* costing three rupees, a *choli* costing eight annas, and a *puste*,² costing one rupee eight annas, and silver toe-rings costing eight annas. He spent twenty rupees on liquor, ten rupees on rice and five rupees on a goat. With the rest of the money he bought millet and other things to eat. It was a wonderful feast. More than a hundred people assembled; they came from Akavaram, Kamarlapalli, Reklavaram, Maradugu, Gundam Penta, Udimalla and many other villages. He had invited two people from each village, but five or six came instead, while from the villages nearest to Upnotla even the women came.

After the wedding he and his wife lived with his parents until their first child was born, when he built a house of his own. Then he worked for one year with another grazier, looking after his cattle, for which he was paid four goats. The grazier wanted to give him money, but he insisted on goats. From the four goats he made twenty, all in one year. The grazier was so pleased with his work that he tattooed Gangaru's shoulders with the patterns of trees. The women laugh at him, for Chenchu men are usually not tattooed, but Gangaru thinks it very nice.

When he left the work with the grazier, he began again to collect roots and fruits in the jungle, but food was very scarce and so he gradually sold his goats. Within one year all the goats had gone. Since that time he has not been able to get any work and never again has he possessed any goats or sheep.

He had altogether thirteen children, but eight of them died, some soon after birth and others when they were a few years old. Now he has three sons and two daughters. Both girls are married, but only one of his sons has a wife.

1. This remark was perhaps prompted by the fact that Gangaru's family immigrated from villages beyond the Dindi River, where they had long lived in close touch with Telugu peasants; hence his disapproval of the approach to marriage which he found among the young Jungle Chenchus.

2. The *puste* or *tali* is a small gold ornament which is strung on a cord and tied round the bride's neck at the wedding.

His married son is called Guruvaru, and stays in his father's house. Guruvaru spent fifty rupees on his wedding, the whole of which he borrowed from the *patel*. He is paying it off by working for the *patel*; he has worked for eight years already, and only this year will the debt be cleared. All this time he received neither wages nor millet. Otherwise, if a man works for the *patel* and there is no debt to be paid off, he gets six *seer* of millet per week, and every year one *sari* and two *dhoti*.

The first husbands of both his daughters died, but they both married again.

Gangaru would like to live in the hills like a Jungle Chenchu, but his family will not let him. So he comes only for a few days to Sarlapalli to gather fruits and then he always goes back to Upnotla. He often crosses the Dindi River, because he has relations on the other side, but he has never been to Sri Sailam or anywhere on the other side of the Kistna. Neither has he ever been to Pulajelma or Boramacheruvu. Sometimes he goes to Amrabad to the bazar, but only if he has money; 'for if he has none, what is the use of going?'

CHAPTER XXIX

TEMPERAMENT AND CHARACTER

IN VIEW of the fact that psychologists have not yet developed a satisfactory method of assessing on strictly scientific lines the temperament and character of individuals of the observer's own culture willing to undergo complicated, prearranged tests, it may appear foolhardy to attempt a description of these two elements in a primitive tribe, with no other material than incidental observations confined to a period of a few months. It is generally admitted that even under the most favourable conditions it is never 'temperament' or 'character' as such, which can be observed or tested, but only behaviour; and the description of the behaviour of an individual or a group of individuals is of value to psychology only if it can be compared with the behaviour of other individuals occurring under the same or very similar circumstances.

The background of a standardized situation for observing individual reaction is therefore the necessary condition for any objective scientific assessment of temperament and character, and it is evident that such a situation is practically impossible to create when dealing with a primitive tribe. Even the co-ordination of the results of intelligence tests obtained from primitive races with those from European groups is meeting with great and hitherto partly unsurmounted obstacles, and it is therefore not surprising that a technique has not yet been evolved whereby the temperament and character of racially and culturally differing groups may be compared with scientific objectivity.

Yet, although recognizing that modern psychology has not furnished the anthropologist with any satisfactory method of assessing temperament and character, we should not completely ignore these problems. For in the course of studying any particular culture, we are constantly observing human behaviour and therefore form a definite impression of the psychological factors by which it is determined, *i.e.* the temperament and character of certain individuals as well as that typical of the group as a whole. Difficulties arise only when we attempt to formulate this impression, for it is then that we realize the highly subjective nature of our generalizations, which although documented by a number of examples, fall definitely short of scientific conclusions. Statements that a tribe is cheerful, energetic or honest are largely relative and depend on the observer's own temperament and his previous

experiences of other peoples.

The following description of Chenchu temperament and character too is not based on the results of scientific tests, but on a series of casual observations, and any conclusions at which we may arrive are consequently only of relative value. The method employed has sometimes been described as "anecdotal," for since evidence in sufficient quantity for every generalization is not always available, we have to fall back on isolated examples, without being able to ascertain in every case whether the occurrence was exceptional or typical of Chenchu reaction in general.

A stranger arriving unannounced in a Chenchu settlement is usually greeted with friendliness,¹ but with a certain initial restraint. His appearance does not cause a stampede among the girls and women, as the arrival of foreigners does among certain other Indian hill tribes, nor is the visitor immediately surrounded by curious and noisy spectators. When children are the sole occupants of a settlement, they seek refuge inside the houses or in the nearby jungle, and at best negotiate with the stranger from a safe distance of about thirty yards. But adult men are easily induced to sit down and enter into friendly conversation; while even women, though rather shy, will not remain long in the background.

A remarkable phenomenon, which I observed on several occasions, was the change that took place in the attitude of the Chenchus within a few hours or even a day or two after my arrival in any particular settlement. At first the women and children, once the initial excitement had subsided, were not at all self-conscious and it was possible to observe and to photograph them in any activity without upsetting them in the least. Particularly small children did not seem to take in the presence of anything strange or formidable, but continued to play quite undisturbed. Only after some time did they begin to realise that they were watched and suddenly became shy or frightened, and this period lasted generally for many days. Similarly the women and girls, who had been quite unconcerned at my presence, became self-conscious, giggled and hid their faces as soon as I paid any attention to their activities. It seemed almost as though individually they had not given much thought to my doings, and that only in discussing the situation among themselves did my presence gradually assume reality and they then decided on a common attitude. Though this delayed reaction on things outside their sphere of usual experiences was very marked, it would be wrong to conclude, that the Chenchus are slow of apprehension in general. When not confronted with matters entirely foreign,—and the behaviour

1. Unfortunately the forest-guards are not too popular with the Chenchus and any visitor travelling in the company of uniformed subordinates is liable to find villages deserted of women and children and to encounter among the men a defensive and nervous attitude, which is not easily overcome.

of an anthropologist was certainly a completely novel experience to the Chenchus,—they are fairly quick in understanding and learning. When during my stay on the upper plateau two local Telugu servants left me one after the other, because they did not like the exertions and solitude of camp life, my boy occasionally employed Chenchus to help him with the preparation of food and the washing of dishes; to his and my own surprise, they proved more efficient and quicker at grasping what he wanted, than either of the Telugu men from Mananur and Amrabad. Similarly when I staged a hunting scene for a film, the actors soon understood what I required, although it was evidently quite impossible to explain to them the nature of a film. Experiences in Madras Presidency have proved that Chenchu children,—boys as well as girls,—are not dull at school and a considerable number have reached High School standard and are now employed as forest guards and teachers in primary schools. This should certainly dispel any belief that may exist as to the Chenchus' lack of adaptability. They can adapt themselves to new conditions, if they understand the advantages of the change and it is possible to arouse their interest in the new enterprise. We have shown in another chapter that cattle breeding has been readily accepted among the Chenchus while plough-cultivation found no favour, although a certain amount of official support was given to the introduction of the latter. Neither attitude can be invoked as proof of the existence or non-existence of a trait of adaptability in the Chenchus' temperament, for the adoption of the one and the rejection of the other occupation were due to their relative compatibility with the general pattern of Chenchu culture. Much seems to indicate, however, that the difficulty of introducing such occupations as agriculture is not due to the conservative spirit which cannot adapt itself to new ideas, but to a lack of perseverance in the Chenchus' character, which prevents them from applying concentrated effort on any one objective for very long.

Quite unjustly the Chenchus have acquired a reputation for being sullen and unamiable. Sullen they certainly are, if their villages are invaded by unwelcome visitors and they themselves compelled to work for little or no remuneration. But left to themselves or even with strangers who have gained their confidence, they are ready to laugh and to talk, while the majority of the men and women whom I know more intimately can definitely be described as cheerful. It is their very sharp sense of humour which strikes the observer and their lively manner of description that makes conversation with a Chenchu sometimes extremely amusing. They are quick at repartee and still quicker and full of imagination in inventing excuses for anything they do not like to do.

Compared with most other primitive races the Chenchu can hardly

be described as sociable. He has a definite predilection for living in isolated small groups and some families live at least a part of the year in one-house settlements, divorced from the rest of the community. We have already mentioned that lack of co-operation is typical of the Chenchus' economic activities, and the dearth of organized forms of recreation points in the same direction. At heart, every Chenchu is an individualist who likes to follow the trend of his own inclinations and hates to be told what to do. He will join the members of his group in their activities just so long as their plans coincide with his own, but as soon as a difference of opinion arises, he will go his own way without the least hesitation. Freedom of action and independence are really more essential to him than any material advantages, and if he has set his heart on a matter, he will even act in defiance of public opinion.

Inhabitants of settlements lying as close together as the two groups of houses of Boramacheruvu (cf. p. 99) may not seek each other's company for many days, but between those persons living within a settlement the flow of gossip seldom ceases. It appears, indeed, that the Chenchu is quite content to live with his nearest relatives and not at all anxious for the advantages of large companies, but at the same time he is no introvert, but definitely communicative towards those with whom he happens to live. There are, of course, times when he likes to see his friends and relatives in other villages, and the gay spirit at drinking parties during the mohua season proves beyond doubt that Chenchus can enjoy good company. Yet, he has no desire to expand his social horizon, and more than one Chenchu when asked whether he would like to live on the other side of the Kistna, where food is more plentiful, told me that he had no wish to see strange faces; 'if he went there and left the country of his fathers, his heart would break and he would die.'

Cowardice is a charge often levelled at the Chenchu, but to me this accusation seems absolutely unfounded, for men who hunt bears with antiquated matchlocks of most doubtful effectiveness and climb down precipitous cliffs in search of the combs of wild bees can hardly be described as lacking courage. The Chenchu is certainly not unduly afraid of wild animals, although the number of persons killed by tigers, bears, and hyenas would very well justify such a fear. If he meets a bear in an angry mood, he will run, but this is common-sense and he considers himself clever, if he is able to escape. While touring with Chenchus as coolies, we were more than once overtaken by nightfall before reaching a village, but they never created difficulties. One night we ran into two tigers, but the Chenchus did not show any sign of panic; none of us carried a weapon, but they stood their ground, shouting and hitting the tree trunks with sticks. On another occasion we met a bear in similar circumstances, and although we had still several

miles to go, the Chenchu coolies did not cringe or raise objections to continuing the journey in the dark with nothing but the frail flicker of a bamboo torch. Neither did they ever refuse to start before dawn although walking in the dark evidently laid their naked foot open to the danger of snakes; and when on several tours we had to cross the Kistna River by swimming, our Chenchu companions showed little anxiety, but calmly advised us to avoid splashing lest we attract crocodiles.

It would thus appear, that the Chenchu is brave enough so long as the danger he has to encounter falls within the orbit of his experience. He is timid only when facing the unknown and then his fear is so quickly aroused that it may be considered unreasonable and even ridiculous. I had an experience of this kind with Chenchus of Sarlapalli, whom I engaged to carry my luggage on a ten days' tour through several villages of the Kurnool District. Till we reached Sri Sailam, where they had been before, everything went quite well, but even before starting on the next day's march to Peddacheruvu my coolies expressed fears of what might happen to them in that unknown country and it was with great difficulty that I restrained them from returning home immediately. Next morning, we had hardly started before they were a picture of misery and declared that they would certainly die in those strange places to which I was taking them, 'for they were sure, that the water there would make them ill.' It was only with a great deal of persuasion that I got them as far as Peddacheruvu, but no sooner had they put down their loads, than they demanded their wages and made for Sri Sailam and home as quickly as possible, although losing thereby a lucrative job and their coolie wages for the home journey.

This may have been only an isolated incident and I believe that the men of Boramacheruvu, who served me well on two strenuous tours down to the Kistna, would not have hesitated to accompany me on the southern side of the river. The fear of the unknown is deeply rooted in the Chenchu and perhaps it is that which accounts for his terror of the police and the jail. For to be taken from his homeland is the worst that can happen to the Chenchu and the supreme threat used occasionally by forest-guards in their never too cordial dealings with the Chenchus is that they will drive them off the plateau.

There can be no doubt that the Chenchus are genuinely afraid of the subordinate forest officials and the police, but this should not be ascribed to a lack of courage, but rather to unfortunate experiences. An example of the panicky terror that can under certain circumstances possess the Chenchus, is afforded by a most deplorable incident which occurred in Pulajelma about ten years ago. It was the mohua season and the Chenchus were in the process of distilling liquor when two policemen arrived in the village and arrested the *peddamanchi* and

three other men for illicitly distilling liquor. Unused to dealing with aborigines they failed to reassure the other people that nothing very serious would happen to the four offenders, and apparently even made them believe that more policemen would come and arrest all the villagers. This threat caused, probably much to their own surprise, a general and immediate stampede, and so terrified were the Chenchus that they did not even stop to pick up their small children, but left them wherever they happened to be, and fled into the jungle. The whole day they dared not return to the village, and when they stole back in the evening they found that several of the smallest infants had died from exposure to the burning sun. Yidgaru (Tokal) says that altogether eight children perished on that occasion, and though this may be an exaggeration, it is certain that the child of his brother, who was one of the arrested men, died at that time. Only two of the four men were found guilty and condemned to one month's imprisonment, and strangely enough both died of fever within eight days of their return from jail.

Long contact with races superior in means and organization has probably taught the Chenchu that flight is the most effective method of avoiding unpleasant experiences with outsiders, and it is still his general reaction to any real or apparent danger of an unknown kind.

Yet, the Chenchu is not timid as soon as he is assured of the harmlessness or good intentions of a stranger; any servility is foreign to his nature, and he shows a greater dignity than most of his more progressive neighbours. It is unfortunate that the Chenchus are often judged by those living near the Forest Rest Houses of Farahabad and Vatellapalli, who have lost much of their dignified and frank behaviour, and have learnt to ask for *bakshish*, and to regard themselves as curious for the visitor.

Though the Chenchu is much belied in other respects, he is strangely enough credited with absolute honesty and truthfulness. There can be no doubt that as a rule he does not steal, but nothing could be further from the truth than to say that he never tells a lie. On the contrary, he is extremely clever in lying, and if he has something to hide and cannot think of a very plausible excuse for the moment, he will follow the principle of 'any excuse is better than none.' Thus, when I heard the drums of Pulajelma in the middle of the day and expressed my astonishment that the people were drinking liquor and dancing at such an early hour, Yidgaru (Tokal) told me quite seriously, that the drums were only beaten to recall the women from the jungle in order to feed their small children, who were crying for milk. Many fanciful stories were constantly invented to conceal from me such occurrences as clan-incest or marital scandals, that the Chenchus considered disreputable or not fit for the outsider. Most Chenchu lies are, how-

ever, not prompted by the wish to deceive for reasons of personal gain, but rather by the wish to avoid embarrassment. In matters of material values the Jungle Chenchu is as a rule definitely honest, although his honesty seems to stand in inverse proportion to his contact with outsiders.

Judging from our own standards, we might be tempted to describe the Chenchus as unreliable, and those wholly dependent on them over any considerable period will have often cursed their unreliability. If you arrange, for instance, with a man to sell you some of his buffalo milk every day, he will bring it for three days, but stay away on the fourth; if questioned as to what happened to the milk, he will explain that his buffalo-cow ran away early in the morning or that she did not give any milk because she was worried by flies. Similarly, if a man promises, that he will come tomorrow or the day after to such and such a place, it is very probable that he will not appear without his conscience troubling him on the matter. For, if a Chenchu says that he will do a particular thing at a particular time other than the present, he really means that he will do it if he feels like it when the time arrives and nothing stands in his way.

Chenchus are subject to moods, which follow each other in quick succession; they may be full of enthusiasm over a certain plan today and have forgotten it tomorrow, and since they have always been accustomed to follow the dictates of their momentary inclinations, there exists no steady influence arising from education to counteract this vacillating temperament. The Chenchus themselves are quite conscious of the rapid changes of their temper, and say that men who quarrel in the evening and even hit one another will be the best of friends next morning. Closely linked with the instability of his mood is the Chenchu's emotionalism. Although in many respects a sober thinking realist the Chenchu is easily carried away by his emotions, which are at times violent and unrestrained. We have seen in the preceding chapters, that not even the strongest social disapproval will detract a man from an intrigue with a girl of his own clan, if he is passionately in love with her, and the frequency of scandals of various descriptions show that emotions often overrule the voice of reason. Fits of uncontrolled anger may result from apparently trivial causes, and once in a rage the Chenchu turns against the first who comes in his way. A man of Appapur arrived one evening in Boramacheruvu, shouting and accusing the unsuspecting inhabitants of sheltering his wife, who had run away from him after a quarrel; he had already knocked over one man in Appapur and the nocturnal walk of three miles to Boramacheruvu had not cooled his temper.

The excitability of the Chenchu finds expression in his manner of talking and his lively gesticulations. Recounting the story of some

adventure, he dramatises the whole occurrence and often becomes as excited as though he were once more going through the experience.

The fault with which the Chenchu is most frequently charged, however, is not unreliability or a rash temper, but laziness. Put to work which he is either unused or reluctant to perform, the Chenchu will prove less energetic than the ordinary labourer of the plains, and will certainly not doggedly continue his labours for hours. On the other hand he is energetic enough in digging up roots from a stony soil, in carrying a light load over extremely difficult country, and in rebuilding his house. The daily tasks of a woman with a large family to feed are certainly more than enough even for the most active individual, and in contrast to the women of the plains, the Chenchu woman does not rest during her monthly period and starts work almost immediately after confinement. The men are perhaps more inclined to laze about the village in the morning, for when the women are already busy fetching water they have little to do. But they soon start for the jungle and only return late in the evening. To remain inactive for a day or even several successive days does not appeal to the Chenchu, who is much too restless for such a *dolce far niente*, thereby revealing a side of his character at variance with that of many primitive agriculturists, who after weeks of strenuous work enjoy periods of complete and sometimes even ceremonially stipulated idleness. That the Chenchu's attitude to leisure is not altogether unalienable, but subject to influence is clearly shown by the Chenchus of Madras Presidency, who with the development of more regular and continuous work have acquired a taste for longer periods of inactivity (cf. p. 314).

At times, however, the restlessness of the Hyderabad Chenchus proved a serious obstacle to my investigations. For during my stay in Boramacheruvu I rarely succeeded in inducing any one of the men to remain in the village and talk to me while the others went to the jungle collecting roots. It was not a question of food, for I offered my informants ample supplies for the whole day, should they agree to remain with me, but to no avail. As soon as the sun climbed the sky, they wanted to be off to the jungle. "We are used to start at this time," was the explanation, when I asked why they wanted to go for roots, if they could get grain, "and we don't like to stay longer in the village." However, they raised no objections to staying with me while carrying my luggage on tours, and it was only when I halted in a place for a day or two, that instead of resting they went off on their own to visit some neighbouring village and only returned at dusk.

Although nowadays the Chenchus live for the greater part of the year in solid houses, they are still possessed of a nomadic spirit and will often move from one place to the other without any very compelling

reason. If questioned as to the cause of their change of abode, they will invariably say, that they moved because they could find nothing to eat in their own settlement, although at the same time perhaps other families have settled in the abandoned place, giving exactly the same reasons for their movements, and thus proving the futility of the explanation. I doubt, however, whether the Chenchus are conscious of this discrepancy. Food ranks foremost in their minds and so overwhelming is the every day task of finding sufficient to eat, that all other problems are related to the question of food, and when an innate nomadic instinct prompts the Chenchu to move, he unconsciously associates his desire for a change with the latent desire for increased provisions.

The quest for food is indeed the predominant drive in Chenchu life. In primitive, as well as higher developed cultures, we find a limited number of motives most forceful in determining behaviour and it is often one of these motives which occupies a central position and imparts to the whole culture its peculiar character. Thus the striving after wealth, usually expressed in pigs and shell money, dominates human life in many Melanesian societies, while the desire for prestige and social merit, which may be gained by prowess in war, as well as by the expenditure of lavish hospitality, ranks foremost in the mind of the Naga ; the wish to eternalize the merit gained on this earth so that it may benefit the soul in the next life is a powerful drive in the megalithic cultures of South-eastern Asia, whereas among certain West African tribes the contact with the world of spirits and ancestral souls permeates all branches of culture. Among some races whose economic situation presents few difficulties sex may be the primary interest, but for the Chenchu food is the *alpha* and *omega* of all thoughts and desires. It is the great problem that must be tackled day after day ; for there are no times when he lives on the fruits of previous labours and can therefore turn his mind to other aspects of life. Whether young or old, newly married or blessed with children, highly esteemed for his wisdom or his knowledge of medicines, every day of his life must be spent in the search for food. Wealth, such as the Chenchu has recently come to know, does not mean to him power or prestige, but sufficient food for himself and his family. Sex is certainly not without importance, and most disputes arise over the question of sex-relations, but it ranks second to food, and it would appear that the Chenchus give infinitely less thought to sex than such agricultural races as the Gonds, Baigas, Nagas and Lepchas, to name only a few Indian tribes on whom detailed information is available. We have seen in some of the stories that the ideal Chenchu wife, as represented by spirits who condescend to live with human men, is not the most accomplished mistress, but the woman who provides her family with most food.

There can be no doubt that the Chenchu looks at the world with a rational and sober eye. Phenomena which he cannot understand do not interest him and he shows little fear of unseen powers. This rational outlook pervades also his religion, which is entirely free from mysticism and finds expression in the Chenchu's valuation of human temperament. His ideal is the strong, well-balanced man who is a good hunter and food-gatherer, able to collect such wealth as Chenchus know, and clever in the settling of disputes. Common-sense, the capacity to speak well, and a harmonious temperament are admired in a man and help him to become prominent in his community. No value is attached to mystic experiences in the spiritual field. Potaru (Menlur), the only Chenchu of this generation who is known to have had a vision of a deity (cf. pp. 189, 255), and whose mind seems to wander sometimes in strange regions, is considered as definitely abnormal and either pitied or slightly ridiculed as a social misfit. Within the pattern of Chenchu culture, to speak in Ruth Benedict's terminology, he does undoubtedly constitute a misfit, but in other primitive cultures individuals of his mental condition are highly appreciated and often accorded considerable influence. Thus among many Red Indian tribes the experience of visions is an aim eagerly sought after and attained through severe privations, and great social prestige adheres to the man who is believed to communicate with the gods. Similarly in all those Asiatic cultures where shamanism flourishes a prominent rôle is played by men and women who have a capacity for trance-experiences and visionary dreams. What is considered a pathological, neurotic condition in one culture may be regarded as a highly desirable state in another, but it seems that the Chenchu's attitude to parapsychic phenomena is not very far removed from that of present-day western civilization, which we are accustomed to describe as 'rational' in contrast to the 'mystic' outlook of other periods and cultures.

Aesthetic considerations play a very small rôle in Chenchu life. Men have few ornaments and though women like to wear beads and clothes like the plains people, they make little use of flowers and none of the many bright feathers which are easily available in the forest. Only very few objects are embellished with any kind of ornamentation and in many a Chenchu settlement nothing is to be found that shows even an attempt at decoration.

In the absence of art to express Chenchu taste, I was curious to find out what views are held on human beauty. My first attempts with young men were, however, marked by failure. They either declared that they didn't care about the beauty of women, or said that to them all Chenchu girls seemed pretty, although the men of other castes did not think so. Leading questions as to the features most appreciated

yielded no result. I then resorted to a ruse which had aroused many vivid comments among the hill tribes of Assam, and showed the Chenchus photographs of men and women of other tribes and asked for their opinion. But in the first instance even this failed and the youths whom I had selected for the experiment were tongue-tied. When I showed them the photograph of a beautiful Konyak girl, laden with bead necklaces and armlets, they only said that they would not like to marry such a girl, for she was rich and they were only poor jungle folk, who were content with their own girls. When I showed them two photographs and asked them which girl they liked better, the answer was again that both the girls were nice, but they were not interested in 'foreign girls.' In despair I gave it up.

But later I was luckier with Yidgaru (Tokal) of Pulajelma, who is definitely one of the brighter Chenchus. I started by showing him the illustrations of my book "The Naked Nagas."¹ Yidgaru's comment on the pretty Henlong (Fig. 1), who has very few clothes but a beautiful body, was not favourable. "She is quite shameless," he remarked, "I would not like to marry her, for she would certainly run away. The spirits (*dayam*) too looked like this. No doubt she is pretty and young, but why has she taken off her clothes?" But he thought the young Angami woman (Fig. 2) very nice and approved of her decent dress. Yidgaru agreed with me that Ngapnun (Fig. 14) is prettier than the other Longkhai woman, although her bare breasts are rather scandalous. The girls dancing at the Spring Festival (Fig. 36) should also wear bodices, but they are nice and young and the one in the middle is the prettiest; which is incidentally also my opinion. More startling were Yidgaru's ideas on Konyak men. He gasped when he saw Mauwang, chief of Longkhai, in full ceremonial dress and with blackened teeth (Fig. 17): "If I met such a man in the jungle I would certainly die—he is exactly like a spirit and has surely eaten many men." The Chang chief Chingmak (Fig. 19), however, made a more favourable impression on Yidgaru,—if he met Chingmak he would ask tobacco from him; but he would not go anywhere near the two other Chang warriors (Fig. 22). Shankok (Fig. 35) seemed to Yidgaru also a good man, but he should cut his hair properly.

Then I showed Yidgaru the photographs in Verrier Elwin's book "The Baiga."² His comment on a young Bhumia girl with bare breasts (facing p. 216) was that now she is young and pretty, but when she is old, she will be wicked, because she is shameless. He approved of the fuller dress of two other girls (facing p. 264), but thought the faces were not good. "Everything good and face very pretty," was the

1. London: Methuen, 1939. The figures refer to the illustrations.

2. London: John Murray, 1939.

verdict on a girl in dance dress (facing p. 536).

But the Maria Gond girls pictured by W. V. Grigson,¹ did not meet his approval, because "there is too much white in their eyes and they are shameless."

Photographs of Melanesians of the Solomon Islands horrified Yidgaru; he thought them just like evil spirits, and was sure that everybody would run away, if such men appeared.

Yidgaru seldom detailed his verdicts. He thought a girl pretty or ugly, but he could not say exactly why and made no attempt at analysing her features. Most comment was evoked by ornaments and dress, or rather the absence of dress. Chenchus have apparently learnt to regard the wearing of a bodice as the symbol of female decency, and in their insistence on this garment they show the zeal peculiar to all recent converts. For it is not so very long since Chenchu women left their breasts free and dressed only in leaves.

Encouraged by Yidgaru's comments on photographs I provided him and several other men with paper and pencil, and asked them to draw whatever came into their heads. After some hesitation they sat down and began slowly to draw the figures of humans, animals and trees. The drawings varied in quality, but none surpassed the standard of a European child of about five or six, while the majority could be classed as definitely inferior. The one trait common to all the drawings was that the Chenchus drew what they knew to exist, not what they saw. They drew the bones inside the arms and legs and even the ribs of a human body, and they drew the roots of a tree as well as the branches. Every finger and toe was carefully delineated, but clothes were not considered essential. Great were Yidgaru's difficulties in drawing a house, for having drawn a circle to represent the ground plan, as he is used to trace it on the soil when building his own house, he then tried to fit on the rafters so that they met on the fork of the central post; this resulted in a kind of cupola, which once on paper did not meet with Yidgaru's approval.

But although poor in execution, which is not altogether surprising in a tribe with hardly any pictorial art, the drawings reveal clearly the realism of the Chenchu. And realism is perhaps the most outstanding trait in his character. This trait, which has been demonstrated by many passages in the preceding chapters, will certainly stand him in good stead and help him to adapt himself to the recent changes in his environment, provided always that the measures taken to promote this adaptation make the necessary allowance for the other peculiarities in his character and temperament.

1. *The Maria Gonds of Bastar*. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1938.
18*

PART VIII
CONTACTS AND ACCULTURATION

CHAPTER XXX

STRATA AND AFFINITIES¹

FOR thousands of years folks of many divers cultures have peopled the great lands of the Deccan, and slight as may have been the Chenchus' contact with the outside world, they cannot have failed to be influenced by some of the races that were at one time or another their neighbours. Imprints on their culture resulting from the intercourse with the peasantry today surrounding the Nallamalai Hills are easily discerned, but the attempt to trace acculturation processes which occurred in the remote past meet with considerable difficulties. For there can be little doubt, that many of the tribes which were once in touch with the Chenchus have since shifted to distant habitats, while others, assimilated by more dynamic populations, have long lost the culture-traits which of old they imparted to the Chenchus. It is only the fragments of ancient primitive cultures that we find now among the scattered aborigines of Southern India and even those groups which have retained their tribal customs are but imperfectly known. Until further field-work has furnished us with more ethnographic data all our conclusions regarding the strata and affinities of Chenchu culture must therefore remain hypothetical and subject to revision in the light of a fuller knowledge of Deccan civilizations.

Let us try to visualize Chenchu culture as it is likely to have existed in earliest times. The basic features are those common to most races of primitive hunters and food-gatherers, and a knowledge of the cultures of other equally primitive tribes in Southern Asia, such as the Veddas, Andamanese, Semang and Philippine Negritos can therefore help us to determine which elements in the material, social and spiritual sphere may belong to the nucleus of ancient Chenchu culture. Undoubtedly the chase and the gathering of wild fruits and tubers and probably also honey-taking were the original sources of food supply, but in the earliest period of Chenchu history food gathering and hunting must have yielded better results than they do today; for the forefathers of the Chenchus were not yet hemmed into a narrow habitat by higher developed races and the best hunting and collecting grounds must therefore have been

1. A comprehensive analysis of Chenchu culture and of the affinities between the Chenchus and other ethnic groups of India would entail the use of an extensive library of Indian ethnographic literature, but since this book has been written in the intervals of further field-work among other tribes of Hyderabad, I have had to rely on memory and only a very few books. This may explain the sketchy character of this chapter as well as the dearth of bibliographic documentation.

at their disposal. Bow and digging-stick, the implements of hunting and root-collecting, may thus with a high degree of probability be counted among the material elements of this oldest stratum in Chenchu culture; metal of any kind was, however, unknown and it is open to conjecture whether the arrows had wooden heads like the *ramalu* and *bota kola* of today or were tipped with flaked stone. The digging-stick on the other hand can only have been of wood or bamboo perhaps hardened by fire. Pots were also absent in that early stratum, when bamboo culms and perhaps skins roughly sewn were used as vessels. The age of basketry in Chenchu culture is a questionable point, but I am inclined to think that some kind of rough basketry did belong to a very old stratum; the globular honey baskets (*teana buti*), waterproofed with resin, suggest by their extremely good finish a long developed craft. Moreover, the technique of Chenchu basketry, closely allied to wickerwork, is distinct from the plaited basket-work of more advanced tribes; indeed plaited mats were unknown until recently and the memory of the time when only animal skins were used in this connection is still alive. Leaves were the characteristic dress of the ancient Chenchu, while necklets of dried jungle seeds and berries, fresh flowers, peacock quills, and bracelets of cane and climber tendrils served as ornaments. With so few material possessions the Chenchus were even more mobile than they are today, and it is probable that they never settled in one place for any length of time, but roamed the jungles throughout the year, erecting wherever they camped shelters and screens of leaves comparable to those which are nowadays found in temporary settlements. Certainly they had no domestic animals, except possibly the dog.

Economically the Chenchus thus belonged to the same world as palæolithic and mesolithic man, but we do not know what type of implements they used before they became acquainted with iron. In their present habitat no stone artefacts have yet been discovered, and even should such finds be made, we would have no proof that they are connected with the ancestors of the Chenchus. Palæolithic finds, however, are not lacking in the Southern Deccan. The *coup-de-poing* culture known as Madrasien is probably far more ancient than any of the surviving Indian races, but one of the flake industries that followed this oldest palæolithic culture may well have been the work of the Malid hunting and collecting tribes, and the very probable connection between the Veddas and the flake-industries of Ceylon speak strongly in favour of such an assumption, though the possibility of the one time existence of an a-lithic bamboo or wood-culture in India cannot be entirely discounted.

When we come to the social and religious heritage of the Chenchus and try to ascertain those elements which may be assigned to the oldest stratum we find ourselves on difficult and uncertain ground and have

to lean heavily upon the evidence of comparative ethnology. Judging from conditions among other food-gathering tribes of Southern Asia we will hardly err if we assume that the family's rôle as the foremost of social units dates back to the basic structure of Chenchu society, and if we consider the social equality of the sexes, which in olden times was probably even more pronounced, it seems doubtful whether the family was organized on either strictly patrilineal or matrilineal lines. The present Chenchu custom entitling a man to the same rights in the land of both father's and mother's community seems suggestive of a former state when descent through the male and the female line were of equal importance. There is good cause to believe that in the oldest times the ownership in the individual tracts of land was vested in kin-groups which practised local exogamy, while the patrilineal clans of today had not yet taken shape.

Of the two forms of disposal of the dead, burning is undoubtedly of quite recent introduction, and the simple burial in a grave dug with digging-sticks can safely be counted among the elements of ancient Chenchu culture.

In the sphere of religion the cult of all those deities worshipped by the surrounding Telugu peasantry and evidently adopted from them may be excluded from the religious concepts of the oldest times. The only rites that appear peculiar to Chenchu culture are the offering of a small portion of every animal killed in hunting and the offering of the first fruits when each variety comes into season. Both these offerings are directed to Garelamaisama, and it seems indeed that although Bhagavantaru is now believed to rank even higher, it is Garelamaisama who occupies the most prominent place in Chenchu ritual and religion. The "primitival" offerings after a successful hunt and when the first fruits ripen have close parallels not only among such jungle-tribes of Asia as the Semang and the Philippine Negritos, but also among primitive food-gatherers in other parts of the world, and wherever such offerings are found, they are usually connected with the cult of a supreme being. Garelamaisama too has many attributes of a supreme deity and her control over the game and the fruits of the forest, the only means of subsistence in the oldest times, bespeaks her one time importance in Chenchu religion. But if we are to accord to Garelamaisama this position, there are two factors that call for an explanation: Garelamaisama's female character and her position in regard to Bhagavantaru. That the original supreme deity of a race of hunters and food collectors should have been considered female is in itself improbable, for the pre-eminence of female deities appears to have developed only in the civilizations of agricultural races. Now there are several indications, as we will see presently, that the Chenchu were once in touch with an early agricultural civilization, and if a contact of this description existed a change in the character of the supreme deity from male to

female is easily imaginable. This may also explain the strange inconsistency in the prayers to Garelamaisama, who is usually addressed as mother, but sometimes also as father, her sex being apparently a matter of doubt to the Chenchus. The feminine termination *ama* may be considered irrelevant when speculating on the original character of the deity, since in any case the name Garelamaisama dates presumably from the time when the Chenchus exchanged their original language for Telugu.

Garelamaisama's position *vis-à-vis* Bhagavantaru, the sky god, is entirely unclarified and the Chenchus never seem to reflect on the relations of their two main deities. This very fact seems to discredit the existence of both deities in oldest Chenchu religion, for in homogeneous religious systems of primitive tribes we seldom find two main deities, who stand in no kind of mythological relation, *i.e.* neither in genealogical nor marital relationship nor in the position of adversaries or rivals. Where two deities exist side by side without being in any way connected with each other, it is usually safe to assume that they originated in different cultural strata and that in the tribe in question the cult of one is of comparatively later date. The name Bhagavantaru, which is derived from a Sanskrit root, is naturally of foreign origin, but it may have been applied to a deity already existing in Chenchu religion when it first contacted Hinduism. Nowadays Bhagavantaru possesses several of those attributes of a supreme being that are lacking in Garelamaisama: he resides in the sky, controls rain,¹ thunder and lightning, has power over life and death, and receives the souls of the departed into his abode. The stories of the latter function show unmistakable Hindu traits and we must reckon with the possibility that the whole idea of a celestial abode of the souls is foreign to old Chenchu religion.

Although any reconstitution of the Chenchus' ancient beliefs must remain highly hypothetical, there are two possible explanations for the present position of Garelamaisama and Bhagavantaru. It may be that the Chenchus of the oldest time believed in one supreme deity, who possessed the attributes of both Garelamaisama and Bhagavantaru and was worshipped with offerings of game and first fruits. When later the Chenchus became acquainted with the deities of other races, some of the attributes of their old supreme being may have been transferred to one of the newly introduced deities, whose cult was conducted simultaneously with that of the original supreme deity. How easily acts of cult can be transferred to newly introduced deities is shown today by the occasional worship of Lingamaya with the rites usually pertaining to Garelamaisama (cf. p. 187). Should this hypothesis prove correct, we may assume that in the present cult of Garelamaisama, which seems

1. Although today Garelamaisama is not believed to control the weather, she is attributed with the power of sending rain in one of the stories (cf. p. 202).

peculiar to the Chenchus, at least some of the old ritual is preserved and that Garelamaisama although now known under a Teluguized name and attributed with a female character is the old supreme deity of the Chenchus in slightly changed garb. There is, however, another possible explanation: perhaps Garelamaisama, still closely connected with hunting, represented but a powerful silvan deity, while the idea of a sky god now worshipped under the name of Bhagavantaru, was entirely unconnected with the cult of the deity of the chase, and possibly even belonged to a different stratum of Chenchu culture. Personally I favour the former hypothesis, since it tallies better with the general evidence of the comparative history of religions; for primitival or first fruit offerings of hunting and collecting tribes are usually directed towards supreme deities.

Although we are unable definitely to establish the original position of the two main deities of the Chenchus, there can be no doubt as to the antiquity of the game and first fruit offerings. Indeed it seems that among the Chenchus a ritual has been preserved which dates not only from pre-Aryan, but also pre-Dravidian times, and reflects the religious beliefs of the old aboriginal population of the Deccan.

When after this diversion we return to our analysis of Chenchu culture, we are faced by the problem of determining the contacts that have subsequently influenced social and material developments. Since the Chenchus have not passed the last thousands of years islanded in the midst of the ocean, such contacts indubitably existed, and their culture contains many elements that can have formed no part of the old stratum.

First let us consider with which types of civilizations the Chenchus could possibly have come in touch. They themselves were a race of food-gatherers living in palaeolithic style, and at times they probably encountered other tribes on the same stage of economic development, but such contacts will hardly have effected any revolutionary changes in their cultural make-up. At some later date, however, they must have met with higher developed races of neolithic culture, for numerous archaeological finds prove that proto-neolithic industries characterized by simple celts of oval cross section, partly or completely polished,¹ were wide spread in the area north and south of the Kistna River. Little is known of the people of this early neolithic civilization, but there can be no doubt, that they practised agriculture and that their social organization had reached a higher stage of advancement than that of the Chenchus.

1. These celts, described also as 'sausage-shaped' axes (*Walzenbeil*), are the characteristic implements of the earliest neolithic cultures in Southern Asia as well as in Africa; in parts of Melanesia and Australia this type survived up to our time. Cf. O. Menghin, *Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit*, Wien 1931, and my article *Zur Urgeschichte Australiens*. *Anthropos*, Vol. XXXI, 1936, in which this type is correlated with the influence of a primitive agricultural civilization.

Besides those elements of the social organization which can be assigned to the oldest stratum, we find a number of traits suggestive of a matriarchal system of society. We have seen in Chapter XVII that a considerable percentage of men live in the village of their wife and may even live under the roof of their parents-in-law during the first years of marriage. That there were times when this custom was even more prevalent might be inferred by several stories such as "The Coward and his brave wife" (pp. 209-212) and "The origin of the Tokal and Sigarlu clans" (p. 226), which seem to take for granted that a man lived in the group of his wife's kinsmen. Even today many Chenchus reside in their mother's village, and it appears that bringing up orphaned children falls more often to the mother's family than to the paternal relatives. The relations between mother's brother and sister's son are particularly intimate, and the marriage with the daughter of the mother's brother's son the most frequent form of alliance. We have seen, moreover, that during the hot season, when the Chenchus revert to their nomadic life, it is more often brothers-in-law than brothers who choose to share the same summer settlement (cf. p. 155). Ultimately there is the custom that the proper partner for the dangerous task of honey-taking is a man's brother-in-law, since he is, as the Chenchus say, more dependable than a blood brother; and although this explanation should not be taken too literally, the custom may date from a time when a man frequently resided with his wife's kinsmen. Matriarchal influences are also suggested by those stories which describe the very active part taken by girls in securing the husband of their choice (cf. pp. 205, 208) and the tale of "The Woman who married a bear" (pp. 224, 225) belongs in all probability to a mythological cycle associated with matriarchal civilizations.¹ In this connection we may remember, that in the confusion of kinship-terms created by an incestuous endo-clan union descent through the mother seemed to carry more weight than that through the father (cf. p. 117).

I do by no means suggest that these features of present-day Chenchu culture are remnants of a period when the tribe had a purely matriarchal or even matrilineal organization. They must rather be considered as indicative of prolonged contact with a matrilineal organization. Civilizations with strongly developed mother-right were once well established in Southern India and it is possible that the agricultural folks who inhabited the Deccan in neolithic time had a matriarchal system of society. Intercourse with such a population would also explain the prominence of female deities in Chenchu religion and if, as we have assumed, Garelamaisama was ever transformed from a male to a female deity, we are perhaps justified in accrediting the metamorphosis to the

1. Cf. W. Koppers, *Der Hund in der Mythologie der Zirkumpazifischen Völker*, Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik, Vol. I, 1930, pp. 359-399.

impact of that matriarchal culture. There is also the possibility that the Chenchus learnt their primitive form of cultivation from the same neolithic cultivators to whose influence are due the matriarchal elements in their social organisation. The system of planting seeds in holes made by a digging-stick is so ancient and wide-spread a form of agriculture and so far removed both in technique and spirit from plough cultivation, that the Chenchus can hardly have learnt it from their present-day neighbours, and it is equally improbable that they themselves should have developed this system independently in accordance with their own particular requirements. Digging-stick cultivation accompanied by the planting of single seeds in holes is also practised by the Hill Reddis, a primitive tribe of the Eastern Ghats less than 200 miles north-east of the Chenchu country. There is a marked racial resemblance between Chenchus and Reddis and it is not improbable that the Reddis represent that ancient ethnological stratum whose impact on the oldest Chenchu culture is responsible for the rudimentary cultivation of the present-day Chenchus.¹ Unfortunately there is, however, little hope of ever clarifying the problem of Chenchu cultivation, for we do not even know whether the Chenchus already had their small garden-plots when their territory first came under the control of the Forest Authorities.

Another problem whose solution presents considerable difficulties is the origin of the clan organization. At present Chenchu clans are patrilineal, exogamous, and distributed over considerable areas. We have noted in Chapter XI, that they show a curious lack of function, and we therefore put forward the suggestion that they may once have been regional units and their exogamy a local exogamy. Such conditions, however, could have only prevailed if residence and descent in the clan followed the same principle, *i.e.* if the Chenchus were either patrilocal and patrilineal or matrilocal and matrilineal. There is nothing to indicate that in practice such a position ever existed, for the principle of optional residence seems firmly established in Chenchu culture. In view of this difficulty and the lack of clan-cohesion I am tempted to assume that the clan-system,—in itself foreign to oldest Chenchu culture,—was borrowed from a neighbouring race, though presumably not that responsible for the matriarchal elements. Some characteristics of the Chenchus' kinship-terminology may be taken as supporting this view. The lack of separate terms for paternal and maternal grandparents, which results in a man addressing persons in his own and his wife's clan by the same term, seems to suggest that the clan-system is not very deeply rooted in Chenchu culture, since the kinship-terms are not fully correlated with it. The clans are strictly

1. My material on the Hill Reddis is contained in a monograph planned as Volume II of this series.

patrilineal, and if the clan-system was introduced through contact with a foreign population, this must have been a population organized on patrilineal lines. Such an adoption of a foreign system is not an unusual phenomenon and ethnology offers many examples of primitive tribes taking over the social system of neighbouring peoples.¹ Moreover in a country where so many tribes and castes are divided into exogamous septs or clans it is only natural that the Chenchus should have conformed to the universal pattern. The exogamous clans of many Indian tribes are of totemistic character, and it is of course possible that among the people whose clan system served as a model for the formation of Chenchu clans totemism prevailed. Yet, Chenchu clans show no features of real totemism and although some of their names refer to animals and plants, the stories explaining these names are not suggestive of a totemistic origin.

The exact process whereby the clan-system gained a footing among the Chenchus will remain for all times a matter of speculation, but it would seem plausible that originally each group in possession of a tract of land was accredited with a clan name and that owing to the principle of local exogamy and the Chenchus' marriage customs, which allow of residence in both the wife's and husband's locality, each clan soon spread through all intermarrying communities.

Whether the adoption of the clan-organization preceded or followed the influences of a matriarchal culture cannot be decided with certainty, but it seems probable that it was implemented by contacts later than those responsible for the matriarchal elements in Chenchu culture. In spite of the apparent lack of social function, the clan-system as such shows little signs of disintegration, for the patrilineal character of the clans is firmly established and the law of clan-exogamy is backed by the force of public opinion.

When we now turn to the more tangible influences on Chenchu culture, we have the advantage of two definite landmarks: the introduction of iron and the adoption of Telugu as the language of the Chenchus. Today all Chenchus use iron weapons and tools and there remains no recollection of a time when they had to do without metal. Once higher developed populations in the neighbourhood had learnt the use of iron, the Chenchus must soon have acquired objects of the new material and thus experienced its vast superiority over their earlier implements. Stone industries survived the coming of the iron age only on islands and continents as isolated and remote as Australia, for however back-

1. An excellent example for the introduction of foreign systems of social organization through inter-tribal contacts has recently been afforded by A. P. Elkin (*Sections and Kinship in some Desert Tribes of Australia*, "Man," 1940, No. 24). He shows, how in Australia the spreading of section-systems is actually taking place before our eyes, and how tribes, formerly lacking moieties or sections, have rearranged and enlarged their kinship-terminology to fit into new systems borrowed from neighbours.

ward and primitive a group, once in contact with races living in the age of iron, it soon adapts the new material to its own requirements. The introduction of iron must have given rise to a system of barter whereby the Chenchus obtained metal tools and weapons in exchange for forest produce and it is not unlikely that the closer intercourse accompanying such transactions ultimately led to the ousting of the Chenchus' original language. That Telugu, or indeed any Dravidian dialect, was not the original language of the South Indian jungle tribes can hardly be disputed, but to all appearances their older language is now extinct and unless linguistic research among the jungle tribes of the Western Ghats, some of whose dialects are reported to differ from those of the surrounding population, discovers traces of a submerged older language, any speculation as to the character of those ancient idioms must be in vain.

The substitution of tribal languages by the tongues of higher developed races is a common occurrence in India and indeed the whole of Southern Asia. Many of the aboriginal tribes of the Central Indian belt such as the Bhils and the Baigas and a large part of the Gonds speak today Aryan dialects and among the hill-races of Orissa we can watch the gradual ousting of the old Austroasiatic tongues by Oriya. Similarly, of the three pygmy races of South-eastern Asia only the Andamanese have retained their original language; the Semang of Malaya speak an Austroasiatic language and the Negritos of the Philippines an Indonesian dialect, although a remnant of the latters' language seems to be preserved in certain religious songs. Thus the adoption of Telugu by the Chenchus was only a part of the general process of linguistic unification that all the world over has tended to supersede the original languages of small tribal groups by the languages of more dynamic neighbours without necessarily implying any close social intercourse or racial fusion.

Yet in the case of the Chenchus, racial influences, accounting for their present physical complexity, must also have occurred and it is, of course, possible that they were contemporary with the displacement of their older language. The Chenchus of the oldest cultural stratum were undoubtedly of Malid stock, but nowadays a strong strain of a less primitive type is discernible and this is probably due to contact with the Telugu speaking plains populations which are predominately of a more progressive, though also dark skinned type.

We will be nearer an approximate dating of the introduction of bartered iron goods into Chenchu culture, when the position of the megalithic remains scattered over the Amrabad ledge and the surrounding plains has been established. Stone circles, menhirs and dolmens are found in the neighbourhood of Amrabad and Padra, and on the upper plateau are large mounds of rubble and the ruins of a low wall built

of rough stones. None of the circles, which may contain stone cists, has yet been investigated, but in other parts of Hyderabad iron implements have been discovered in similar grave circles and thus it is not unlikely that the megalithic remains of the Amrabad plateau are also of the early iron age, and not as one might presume from their outward appearance of neolithic origin. The antiquity of iron in the Deccan is a debatable question, and against the general view that iron was first introduced by the Aryan invaders, it has been argued by E. H. Hunt¹ and others, that ample opportunities existed for a local reduction of iron ore and that the concurrence of iron with typologically very ancient burial forms speaks for an independent pre-Aryan industry in South India. Here is not the place to discuss this very involved problem, but it may suffice to say, that if iron should be discovered in the grave circles of the Amrabad Plateau an ancient contact between the Chenchus and an iron age people over a period of perhaps as much as two millennia would be rendered extremely probable.

But whatever age may ultimately be ascribed to the Chenchus' first clash with iron-using populations, there can be little doubt that intercourse intensified only during the last few hundred years and that it is rustic Telugu civilization as we know it today which is responsible for most of the more recent additions to Chenchu culture.

Which are the Telugu castes that the Jungle Chenchu encounters when he descends from his wooded hills and comes to the villages and bazaars of the open country? They are merchants of Komati caste, Kapu peasants and Golla herdsmen, a number of craftsmen like potters and blacksmiths, and the untouchable Malas and Madigas who dwell in hamlets outside the villages of caste Hindus and subsist sometimes on independent cultivation, but more often on daily labour and such traditional occupations as weaving and leather-work. Only in a few villages live one or two Brahmin families, but as long as the temples at Mananur and Maheswara flourished their numbers were probably greater and at times Brahmins may even have stayed in the heart of the forest near the now ruined temples at Boramacheruvu and Chandragupta. Today, however, it is mainly petty merchants, forest labourers, mostly Malas, Madigas and Waddars, and Lambadi graziers² who come periodically to the upper plateau.

In the material sphere these contacts with the local Telugu peasantry resulted in such accretions to Chenchu culture as earthen pots, cotton clothes and grinding stones. Although woven cloth must have been known to the Chenchus for a long time, the universal displacement of leaf-garments is probably less than a century old, and it may

1. *Hyderabad Cairn burials and their significance*, Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LIV, 1924, pp. 141-155.

2. The Lambadis are, of course, not a Telugu caste, but of North Indian origin; today, however, they form an important element in the rural scene of most parts of Telengana.

well be that the type of houses found in the permanent settlements has also developed under the influence of progressive plains civilizations. The latter point, however, is not beyond doubt for the existence of a similar house-type among the Yanadis, another forest tribe of the Nallamalai Hills, may mean that it had a place in aboriginal culture at an early date. The string instrument known as *kineri*, on the other hand, and the apparatus for distilling liquor, which is based on the complicated process of evaporation and condensation and can hardly be constructed without earthen pots,¹ are both almost certainly taken over from Telugu folks.

Turning to the social side, we find that the Chenchus observe several customs evidently copied from their Telugu neighbours, but it would be far from the truth to say that they conform even roughly to the general pattern of local peasant culture. We have mentioned already that the Chenchus have adopted the Telugu system of relationship terms and we have shown how they have bent it to tendencies peculiar to their own social order (cf. p. 117). The system of exogamous clans finds a counterpart in the universal Telugu institution of exogamous *inti perulu*, house-names, and some Chenchu clan names do actually occur as *inti perulu* among such castes as Kapus, Bestas and Malas.² But this should not lead us to conclude that the clan-organization of the Chenchus was borrowed from the exogamous system of present-day Telugu society; rather may a common source for both be sought in a primitive pre-iron-age culture that at one time contacted the Chenchus and later by fusion with Dravidian civilization formed one of the constituent parts of ancient South Indian culture. The present marriage ritual of the Chenchus can, however, be unhesitatingly attributed to Telugu influences, for the custom of tying grain in a fold of the bride's *sari* as well as the knotting together of the clothes of bride and groom are common rites among most Telugu castes. But compared to the wedding ceremonies of even the lower castes, a Chenchu wedding is an extremely simple and informal affair, in which the majority of features considered essential by the plain-folks are omitted. Only within this generation has the Hindu practice of child-marriage been adopted by a few of the Jungle Chenchus and the traditional freedom of Chenchu girls in the choice of a first husband has no parallel among the local Telugu castes. Puberty ceremonies and the segregation of girls during the first period, common customs throughout Telingana, are entirely absent among the Chenchus, and so are the restrictions on the activities of menstruating women. In view of the enormous importance and severity of menstrual taboos in most classes of

1. An identical apparatus is used by the aborigines of the Central Indian belt, but I believe that they too adopted it from populations of higher material development.

2. Thus Tokal is an *inti perulu* of Kapus and Bestas, Silam of Malas, and Mamidi of Bestas.

Hindu society as well as in most of tribal India,¹ this lack of fear and horror of uterine blood is significant and indicates indeed a striking difference of attitude between the Chenchu and most other Indian races. The conception of ritual and social impurity, which forms the basis of innumerable observances and taboos among the Telugu folks, has apparently not yet sunk into the Chenchu's consciousness; nevertheless he apes caste-Hindus and refuses a Madiga entrance to his house.

The Chenchus' funeral rites, and particularly the more elaborate ceremonial accompanying and following cremation as practised by those of the Vatellapalli Range, are undoubtedly modelled on the customs prevailing among the neighbouring plains populations. Indeed the ceremonies on the third day after death and the memorial feast held within the following month, are almost identical with the *chinna dhinam* and *pedda dhinam* ceremonies of many Telugu castes, while the offering of food to the crows and the procession to the bank of a stream or tank, where the widow's bangles are removed, are wide-spread observances. But though the Chenchus have superficially adopted the customs of cleansing the mourners after the memorial ceremony, there is no real fear of death pollution and no taboos interfere with the normal activities of the deceased's relatives.

The tendency to assimilate inessential details and to retain a distinctive fundamental attitude is also noticeable in the Chenchus' present religious practices. Many of the deities whose cult prevails among the Telugu peasant folks are now worshipped by the Chenchus of the forest, and when fearing their wrath the Chenchus give offerings to Ellamma, an important deity of Malas and other low castes, to Potsamma, the small-pox deity revered throughout the length and breadth of rural Telingana, and Vidamma, who in most of the local Madiga villages is represented by a few upright stones in a small shrine. Ankamma, a goddess worshipped by such castes as the pastoral Gollas, and Peddamma, worshipped by Lambadis, receive also occasional offerings, but in the mind of the Chenchu the cults of these minor deities recede before the vital belief and trust in Garelamaisama, the benevolent and powerful deity of the forests. We have mentioned already that Bhagavantaru is revered by Chenchus and Telugu folk alike as the great god of heaven, but though his name is undoubtedly of Sanskrit origin, it is by no means certain that the Chenchus owe the idea of a supreme being to the contact with Hinduism.

Marked as are the differences in essence of religious beliefs, the contrasts in the forms of worship between Chenchus and their Telugu neighbours are even more pronounced. The worship of the higher Hindu castes is characterized by an elaborate ritual, and the lower castes

1. Cf. Verrier Elwin, *Primitive Ideas of Menstruation and the Climacteric in the East Central Provinces of India*, "Essays in Anthropology presented to Sarat Chandra Roy," Lucknow, 1942, pp. 141-157.

and the pariahs propitiate their deities with animal sacrifices, but neither of these elements has found a place in Chenchu religion. No cult act could be more devoid of formalism than the Chenchus' spontaneous prayers and offerings of first fruits, and even when they follow the custom of plains people and propitiate a deity with offerings of cooked food, the ceremony remains one of utmost simplicity. It is always the supplicants themselves who voice their requests: there are no priests or *pujari* to recite set prayers or incantations, no singing or playing of instruments in accompaniment of the ritual act, no signs of ecstasy in the worshippers. Such requisites as incense, turmeric and coloured powders, indispensable in most rites of popular Hinduism, are now occasionally used by the Chenchus, but the sacrifice of animals has nowhere entered into Chenchu ritual and in this lies its chief distinction from the cult-forms of the neighbouring peasant folks.

The manifold influences of Telugu civilization have failed as yet to bring about a fundamental change in the cultural atmosphere of the Jungle Chenchus and it seems indeed that the Chenchus have always been remarkably selective in their adoption of foreign habits and customs; their intimate contact with Lambadi graziers, for example, who settle close to their villages every hot weather, has resulted in no considerable change in Chenchu culture.

The most recent impact of a materially superior civilization on the forest dwelling Chenchus began less than a hundred years ago when the opening up of the upper plateau for purposes of forest exploitation brought them forcibly into extensive and sustained contact with outsiders. It was probably during the first stages of this contact that they acquired their muzzle-loaders, and they soon grew accustomed to buy such manufactured articles as glass beads, bangles and metal vessels in the bazaars of the plains. Since then frequent contact with Muslim forest guards has led to the absorption of a good many Urdu words and has, among other things, taught them that a respectable woman is expected to wear a bodice.

We will see in the following chapter that the process of acculturation has gone much further in the case of the so-called Village Chenchus, who live today in the midst of the Telugu peasantry, but before turning to them let us compare Chenchu culture in its older form to the cultures of some of the more primitive South Indian jungle tribes and try to discover such elements as they may share with the Jungle Chenchus.

The aboriginal tribe whose geographical location is closest to the Chenchus are the Yanadis of the Nellore District in Madras Presidency, with whom they are also related in physical type. On the south-eastern fringe of the Nallamalai Hills they live side by side with the Chenchus, and though at one time they were like the Chenchus a tribe of food-collectors and hunters, they have in recent years embarked on other

occupations. In their jungle life they employed similar methods of gathering food, using digging-sticks with iron points for unearthing tubers, and they still climb cliffs in search of honey with the help of ropes; and it is noteworthy that here too brothers-in-law are the customary companions for this venture. Their dwellings, described as "conical, circular huts" with a long centre-post from which small spoke-like beams radiate, seem to be almost identical with Chenchu houses.¹ A custom that differentiates the Yanadis from the Chenchus, however, while linking them with the Hill Reddis of the Eastern Ghats and the jungle tribes of the West coast is the seclusion of girls in special huts during the first menstruation.² Yanadi marriage customs are very similar to those of the Chenchus, but the ceremonial at weddings is now more elaborate and it seems that the Yanadis are altogether more advanced than Chenchus and that the Hindu elements in their culture are more pronounced.

The Irulas, another primitive tribe of the Eastern Ghats, now mainly found in North Arcot and Chingleput districts of Madras Presidency and in the eastern frontier forests of Mysore, are also fundamentally hunters and food-gatherers, but for a considerable time they have been in intimate touch with other castes and Thurston's short notes³ do not indicate any particularly close parallels with Chenchu customs.⁴ Yet, there can be little doubt that originally the Irulas and the Chenchus belonged to the same racial and cultural stratum.

Of all Southern India it is the dense forests of the Western Ghats that have offered the safest refuge to the remnants of the Malid population, and in this remote retreat we encounter a number of jungle tribes comparable to the Chenchus in cultural level and economic position, but racially even more primitive and less modified by progressive elements. Some of these tribes, as for instance the Hill Pantarams of Travancore,⁵ the Kadars (or Kadirs) of the Anamalai Hills and Cochin,⁶ and the Paliyans of the Madura district⁷ are today even poorer in material culture than the Chenchus, in so far as they do not possess bows and arrows. Their principal implement is the digging-stick, but the Kadars, Paliyans and now even some of the Hill Pantarams also use bill-hooks. The pattern of life among these tribes seems very similar to that among the Chenchus, but the dwellings of the Hill Pantarams

1. S. R. Venkataran, *The Yanadis of Chittoor*, The Indian Journal of Social Work, Vol. II, 1942, p. 492.

2. E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*. Vol. VII, pp. 416-434.

3. Op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 382-391.

4. At the time of writing I could unfortunately not consult A. K. Iyer's *Mysore Tribes and Castes*, Mysore 1935.

5. L. A. Krishna Iyer and N. Kunjan Pillai. *The Primitive Tribes of Travancore*, Census of India, 1931, Vol. I, Part III, p. 229.

6. K. Govinda Menon, *The Kadar of Cochin*, *ibidem*, p. 213.

7. R. Faulkes. *A note on the Paliyans of the Madura District*, *ibidem*, p. 196.

are much less elaborate than Chenchu houses and some groups of Paliyans are reported to live at times in caves and rock-shelters.¹ R. Faulkes² description of the Paliyans' method of collecting the honey of rock bees could be applied almost word for word to the Chenchus, and it is curious that the Paliyan too considers a man's brother-in-law the proper companion to watch over the rope during the dangerous descent and gives the same explanation for this custom as the Chenchus. In climbing trees with trunks too thick to grasp between arms and legs Kadars, like Chenchus, employ twigged bamboo stems as ladders to the lowest branches. It is, indeed, significant that just in those elements of culture associated with old systems of economics the parallels between the various Malid tribes are most numerous.

Jungle tribes subsisting solely by hunting and collecting are today in a minority as far as south-western India is concerned, for most of the aboriginal tribes who live in this area practise a primitive method of cultivation entailing the frequent shifting of fields. Thus in Travancore the Kanikars, Muduvans, Mannas, Uralis and other hill people work their own fields, superficially scratching over the surface of the ground after the jungle has been burnt and cultivating each plot for two or three years. They have neither ploughs nor hoes, but use wooden stakes in the same way as the aborigines of the Nicobars and many Melanesian tribes, and the wide-spread existence of this extremely ancient form of agriculture in the south-west of India as well as among certain tribes of the Deccan would seem to suggest that the rudimentary digging-stick cultivation of the Chenchus may also be of considerable age. Other tribes such as for instance the Panyans and Pulayans of Malabar, have sunk to the level of agricultural labourers and were until recently serfs of the landowners on whose estates they lived. It is they who are regarded as outcastes and untouchables, while the social status of the free hillmen is relatively high.

The Kanikars and several other tribes of Travancore as well as the Kurumbas of the Nilgiris and Malabar possess bows and arrows, and it is not improbable that the absence of these weapons among the Hill Pantarams and Kadars is due to cultural degeneration rather than to their original ignorance of any offensive arms. Unfortunately the bow of the Kanikar and the jungle tribes of the South-west is nowhere described in detail, but it appears from the notes of L. A. Krishna Iyer and N. Kunjan Pillai,³ that it is somewhat different from the bow of the Chenchu; the string is made from *ficus* fibre, fastened directly to the stave, and is not a bamboo splinter harnessed to the horns with a

1. E. Thurston, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 464.

2. E. Thurston, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 197.

3. *Op. cit.*, p. 229.

loop of deer sinew. The arrows are not metal-tipped but have heads of acacia wood affixed with wax. The houses of the Chenchus also differ from those of such tribes as Kanikars, Kurumbas and Kadars, whose dwellings are generally of rectangular shape.

When we turn to the social organization we are confronted by differences of a more significant nature. In spite of the many traces of matriarchal influence, the Chenchus are strictly patrilineal both in regard to the descent in the clan and the inheritance of personal property. On the south-west coast, however, the clan system of most of the jungle tribes is matrilineal and inheritance follows in the female line. An exception is formed by the Hill Pantarams, the most primitive of the tribes of Travancore, among whom descent is patrilineal; in contrast to other tribes they have no proper clan system, but are divided into two exogamous groups.

The Kanikars, Muduvans, Mannas, and Uralis have exogamous clans ranging in number between four and eleven. Some of the clans seem to be territorial units, but information on this point is as yet limited. Children belong invariably to the clan of the mother and a man's property falls either to his sister's sons or as in the case of the Kanikars, is divided between his nephews and his own sons. It appears that as among the Chenchus cross-cousin marriage is a favourite type of union.

Among these tribes we find also traces of other customs usually associated with mother-right: the seclusion of girls during their first menstruation, which is often followed by a feast, a mild type of couvade, and polyandry, here generally in the form of the marriage of one woman with two brothers. These elements are absent among the Chenchus of today and we may therefore assume that although the nucleal culture of the South Indian jungle tribes may have been identical, the tribes of the Western Ghats were subjected to stronger agricultural and matriarchal influences than were the Chenchus; for in the south-west mother-right has been predominant for very long periods, so that not only the earliest agricultural races, but also many successive waves of higher culture brought matriarchal ideas and customs within the orbit of the aboriginal tribes, while the heavy rainfall and fertile soil of south-western India must have offered a more favourable environment for the early agricultural civilizations than the dry, stony park-lands of the Deccan, where large bodies of hunters and collectors could longer hold their own against the comparatively weaker inroads of agricultural colonists. It is, of course, possible that at one time matriarchal cultures also exercised a stronger influence on the Chenchus and indeed we have pointed out more than one custom that may be a relic of such a period, but these influences must have been levelled at some later date by the contact with populations organized on patrilineal principles.

The somatic similarities between Chenchus and the jungle tribes of the South-west are obvious even to the naked eye or through the medium of photography, and this resemblance has been confirmed by many competent observers.¹ The most primitive type with curly hair and marked prognathism is, however, not so often found among the Chenchus as for instance among the Kanikars and Panyas. B. S. Guha, who measured both Chenchus and Kadars, calculated the racial affinity between the two tribes and found them closely related, the reduced coefficient of racial likeness being only 10.32.²

Even closer according to Guha are the racial affinities between Chenchus and Bhils,³ that large aboriginal tribe which today is found in the Vindhya mountains of Central India, in the Central Provinces, Bombay Presidency and in H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions. In how far the physical resemblance is corroborated by cultural parallels is difficult to say since there exists as yet no comprehensive work on the great Bhil race, of which Enthoven says: "the tribes belonging to it represent various grades of civilization, from the primitive man to the fully Hinduised cultivator."⁴ Traditions of a nomadic forest life are, however, strong and the Bhils' archery and prowess in hunting were famous even a hundred years ago. Their bow, like that of the Chenchus, is made of bamboo with a string of split bamboo,⁵ but the method of harnessing the string to the stave as well as the manner of attaching the iron arrow-heads, which instead of being affixed by means of a socket, are inserted into the end of the shaft by means of a tang,⁶ resemble types found among the Hill Reddis of the Eastern Ghats and certain races of the Central Indian belt. Although some groups of Bhils still gather forest-produce,⁷ the majority are now settled plough cultivators and there can be no doubt that, as proved by the references to the Bhils in

1. The results of recent research into the distribution of blood-groups also disclose affinities between the Chenchus and the primitive tribes of the Western Ghats; both show an unusually high percentage of Group O and a very low percentage of Group B. Eileen W. E. Macfarlane found that among 100 Chenchus 37 belonged to Group O, 37 to Group A, 18 to Group B, and 8 to Group AB. Excluding those from the villages near Amrabad and from Pulajelma where miscegenation seems to have been strongest, the percentage of Group O is still higher, i.e., 68 per cent. Macfarlane sums up the position as follows: "The Chenchus almost all belong to Groups O and A, except at the place where miscegenation is known to have begun a few years ago. In this they resemble the Hill Tribes of the Western Ghats and the Malayali lower castes, with whom they share the distinction of being the only Indian Tribes to have more of A than of B." (*Blood Grouping in the Deccan and Eastern Ghats*. Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc. of Bengal, VI, 1940, pp. 39-49).

2. Census of India, 1931, Vol. I., Part III, p. XLIX.

3. Reduced co-efficient of racial likeness: 6.11.

4. R. E. Enthoven, *The Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Vol. I, p. 158.

5. R. V. Russell, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, Vol. II, p. 83.

6. P. Paul Konrad, *Zur Ethnographie der Bhils*, *Anthropos* XXXV, 1939, p. 20, Figs. 8-10.

7. Cf. Syed Siraj-ul-Hassan, *The Castes and Tribes of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions*, Bombay 1920, pp. 66-76.—P. Paul Konrad, *Ein Volk zwischen Gestern und Morgen. Meine Fahrt zu den Bhagoria Bhils in Zentral Indien*, Preiskretscham, O.S. 1939.

Sanskrit literature at as early a date as the second or third century B.C.¹, the contact with higher civilizations has been of much longer standing than in the case of the Chenchus. The Bhils are divided into exogamous clans with patrilineal descent, but their marriage customs differ from those of the Chenchus in so far as cross-cousin marriage is not permissible, for "a man cannot marry into the sept from which his mother came for three generations, as the members of this sept are held to be the brothers and sisters of such a man."² This custom may be due to the influence of higher Hindu castes or it may be a survival of a time when descent was reckoned in the female line; but this question and the whole problem of cultural affinities between Chenchus and Bhils suggested by their racial similarity must remain in abeyance until more detailed ethnographic information on the Bhils is forthcoming.³

While the scope of ethnological comparisons between the Chenchus and the other jungle folks of Peninsular India is as yet narrowed by the scantiness of our knowledge, we can contrast them in much greater detail with the Veddas of Ceylon, who have been intensively studied by C. G. Seligman⁴ and before him by Paul and Fritz Sarasin.⁵ The position which the Veddas occupy among the "Veddid" races is unique in that they seem to have remained completely isolated for much longer periods than the primitive food-gatherers of the mainland. In Ceylon no cultures of neolithic type with polished stone-implements and pottery followed the flake industries of which the forbears of the Veddas appear to be the authors, and it is consequently fairly certain that epipalaeolithic cultures persisted in Ceylon without major disturbance until the advent of the civilizations of the early iron-age. In Southern India it is nowhere possible to correlate with certainty any primitive tribe with a particular stone-industry, and the connection of the Veddas, as the hitherto best known representatives of "Veddid" races, with a clearly defined palaeolithic industry is therefore all the more important.

At the time of Seligman's visit the disintegration of Vedda culture was already far advanced, but he leaves us in no doubt that the life of hunters and food-gatherers then still led by a few groups was originally characteristic of the whole tribe, and here we will therefore compare

1. P. G. Shah, *Non-Hindu Elements in the Culture of the Bhils of Gujarat*, in "Essays in Anthropology presented to Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy," Lucknow 1942, p. 170.

2. C. S. Venkatachar, *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, Part III, p. 52.

3. Intensive field-work among various groups of Bhils has been carried out by W. Koppers in 1938/39 and by D. N. Majumdar in 1941; W. Koppers' article *Bhagwan, the supreme deity of the Bhils*, *Anthropos* XXXV/XXXVI, 1940/41, pp. 264-325, reached me too late to be utilised in this context.

4. C. G. Seligmann and Brenda Z. Seligmann, *The Veddas*, Cambridge 1911. (Seligman has changed the spelling of his name since *The Veddas* was published).

5. Paul and Fritz Sarasin, *Die Veddas von Ceylon und die sie umgebenden Völkerschaften*, 1893.

only those he terms Forest Veddas with the Jungle Chenchus and disregard the more 'civilized' groups of both tribes. The main features of their economy are identical. Like the Jungle Chenchus the Forest Veddas live exclusively on game, wild tubers, jungle fruits, and honey. Wooden digging-sticks are used for unearthing tubers, a task which is shared by both men and women. Vedda men spend a good deal of time in hunting, and their bows are much larger than Chenchus bows, the stave is of wood instead of bamboo and the string is made of the bast of *Terminalia chebula*. The Veddas string their bows, however, in exactly the same way as the Chenchus, that is by placing the sole of one foot against the middle of the shaft and this identity of technique is significant since most Deccan tribes string their bows by pressing one knee against the stave. The release is also the same as that employed by Chenchus. The honey of rock bees which seems to form a very important part of Vedda diet is collected with the help of frail rope ladders, suspended from trees above the cliffs, and the combs are "cut off with a sort of wooden sword."¹ In so far as the Chenchus use only single ropes and not ladders for climbing the cliffs, their methods are even more primitive than those of the Veddas, but both tribes use smouldering leaves for smoking out the bees. The Chenchus' ignorance of traps and snares is shared by the Veddas, who although keen hunters have devised no methods of trapping game or birds; and this renders it probable that mechanical contraptions for securing game had no place in the equipment of the oldest hunting and plant-collecting folks of India. Like the Chenchus the Veddas use dogs for hunting, and catch fish by poisoning the water of pools.

The semi-nomadic habits of the Forest Veddas, who change their home as season and food-supply demand,² correspond closely to those of the Chenchus, but while the latter seek only occasional protection in rock-shelters, the Veddas make ample use of the many natural caves in which their home-land is particularly rich.

In the social sphere the parallels between the two peoples are no less noticeable than in the field of economics. The average Vedda community "consists of from one to five families who share the rights of hunting over a tract of land, of gathering honey upon it, fishing its streams, and using the rock-shelters. But the whole of the community does not commonly move about its territory as one band, it is far more common to find only the members of single families or small groups of two families living and hunting together."³

1. The latter statement was made by H. Nevill in 1887, and Seligman believes that Nevill referred here somewhat inaccurately to a four-pronged stick (*masliya*), which he saw used for detaching the combs and conveying them into the collecting vessel (op. cit., p. 328), but in view of the Chenchu's use of wooden swords for carving off honey-combs, Nevill's reference to a "wooden sword" must probably be taken more literally.

2. C. G. Seligman, op. cit., p. 81 seq.

3. Op. cit., p. 62, 63.

Each group exercises property rights over a clearly defined territory, and the report that in the old times any intruder would have met with death corresponds to the Chenchu tradition of the bloody quarrels resulting from the violation of boundaries. Among the Veddas as among the Chenchus a man has free access to the hunting grounds of his wife's people and as a rule spends much of his time in the company of his wife's kinsfolk.

All Veddas are organized in clans, and though strict exogamy is observed today in only some of the groups, there is good reason to believe that the custom originally prevailed among the whole of the tribe. Seligman considers it probable that the clans were once territorial units, but as in the case of the Chenchus there is no conclusive evidence to prove this assumption. Chenchu clans are patrilineal, but descent in Vedda clans runs in the maternal line. "The working basis of the Vedda Kinship system is," according to Seligman, "the marriage of the children of brother and sister," and this makes it clear, that the structure of both Vedda and Chenchu society is fundamentally very similar. The prevalence of patrilineal descent in the one tribe and matrilineal descent in the other does not seem to result in any appreciable difference in the actual relations between the members of the kin-group and the small communities, and this seems to confirm the view, that the social life of the primitive hunters and food-gatherers of India was originally organized on neither strictly patrilineal nor matrilineal lines, but was based on the essential equality of the sexes. The close association between father-in-law and son-in-law among the Veddas and brothers-in-law among the Chenchus, the predominance of monogamy, and the absence of any puberty ceremonies are other noticeable parallels between the two tribes.

Least pronounced are the affinities in religious conceptions and the only parallel is afforded by the attitude to the spirits of the dead, whom both tribes consider to be capable of helping their friends and relatives if treated with reverence and propitiated with occasional offerings, but to become actively hostile if their cult is neglected. The worship of Garelamaisama and other Chenchu gods, however, has no counterpart among the Veddas, and our comparison fails therefore to bring us any nearer the original beliefs of the primitive jungle folks of Veddid race.

Summarizing our comparison of the Chenchus with other jungle tribes of the mainland as well as with the Veddas of Ceylon, it would seem that the closest parallels are to be found among those elements which we have assigned to the oldest stratum in Chenchu culture, while considerable divergencies and irregularities occur in the elements introduced through the impact of more advanced civilizations. And I believe we can safely assume that the culture traits common to tribes

now persisting in such widely separated refuge areas as the jungles of eastern Ceylon, the forest-clad hills of Travancore and the stony uplands in the heart of the Deccan, must have been characteristic of those ancient aboriginal cultures which dominated the Indian scene as long as Veddid races were in undisputed occupation of the Peninsula.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE VILLAGE CHENCHUS OF HYDERABAD

THE CHENCHUS may no longer be reckoned as purely a jungle race. Those leading the life of food-gatherers in the forests of the upper Plateau are today in the minority, and most of their tribesmen within the borders of Hyderabad live now in symbiosis with the peasant folks of the lower plateau and the plains between Lingal and Achampet, while a smaller group dwells under similar conditions in the adjoining country of Nalgonda District. In the Census of 1931 Chenchus were recorded only in the Mahbubnagar District and their number was given as 2,264. At the time of my investigation I concluded from this that apart from the 426 individuals counted by myself on the upper plateau, about 1,800 Chenchus must live on the lower ledge and on the fringe of the plains, while those of Nalgonda District had obviously been overlooked during the Census operations. The figures of the Census of 1941, which have now become available, confirm this view in so far as 2,008 Chenchus have been recorded in the Amrabad Taluq and 312 in Nalgonda District, but they reveal, on the other hand, a surprisingly large number of persons returned as 'Chenchus' dispersed over other areas. Thus the total number of Chenchus in H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions is given as 3,865, of which 3,280 were returned in Mahbubnagar, 312 in Nalgonda, 107 in Karimnagar, and the rest in Atraf-e-Balda, Gulbarga, Warangal, Medak and Nizamabad; two Chenchus were even found in Hyderabad City. While the fluctuations of the Village Chenchu population between the lowlands of Amrabad Taluq, where many have turned into landless agricultural labourers, and other parts of the Mahbubnagar District are understandable, the occurrence of Chenchus in districts as far away as Karimnagar on the Godavari calls for an explanation. I have not seen any of these outlying groups,—if indeed they are groups and not scattered individuals,—but I am inclined to doubt whether except in name they have any connection with the Chenchus of the Nallamalai Hills. The popular tendency of grouping together under one name several heterogeneous primitive populations is wide-spread in India, and just as the local forest-guard or policeman when speaking Urdu talks of the Jungle Chenchu as 'Bhil,' so may members of other aboriginal tribes or castes uncommon in the Dominions have been erroneously recorded as Chenchus. That this occurred in certain cases

is all the more probable since various primitive tribes appear in the Census records not under names used by the aborigines themselves but under the designation by which they are known to their more progressive neighbours. - Small numbers of so-called Chenchus have in former Census operations been recorded also in the Chanda District of the Central Provinces, but it is most problematic whether this group has a common origin with the jungle race of Hyderabad and Madras Presidency. Another possible explanation for these 'Chenchus' in widely separated areas, may be found in the fact that itinerant beggars and religious mendicants of various lower castes often describe themselves as members of jungle races; they know in what superstitious regard the uneducated plains folks hold the magical and medicinal practices of forest dwellers and they try to turn this reputation to their own advantage. This same phenomenon may account for Syed Siraj-ul-Hassan's reference to diverse groups of Chenchus in "The Castes and Tribes of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions."¹ Syed Siraj-ul-Hassan mentions besides the Jungle Chenchus three other endogamous groups: Telugu Chenchus, Krishna Chenchus and Bonta Chenchus. The two former are described as beggars, who "collect alms by dancing and singing songs before the Hindus of the plains." The Telugu Chenchus are said to beg blowing long horns, while the Krishna Chenchus, wearing crowns of peacock feathers, play on bamboo flutes, and the Bonta Chenchus live in patchwork tents, which is said to account for the name Bonta, and subsist by bartering jungle produce. Neither the Jungle Chenchus nor the Village Chenchus seem to have any knowledge of members of their tribe answering to this description, nor have I myself met with a mendicant Chenchu. But if certain beggars should pass under the name of Chenchu, the figures of the Census of 1941 would be explicable. Similarly when in 1921 a total of 6,121 Chenchus were returned in the Dominions, the term must evidently have been applied to sections of the population recorded in 1931 under other headings, for the drop to 2,264 in the Census of 1931, and the increase to 3,865 in 1941 undoubtedly reflect different systems of enumeration rather than actual fluctuations of population. The 2,008 Chenchus recorded in the Amrabad Taluq and those smaller groups in the adjacent taluqs are, however, undoubtedly all genuine members of the tribe and it is only with them that we are concerned in this context.

No historical information is available as to the time when the first groups of Chenchus settled on the outskirts of Telugu villages. The Chenchus near Mananur declare that their forefathers have always dwelt there, and this is probably correct; for although temples of considerable antiquity point to old Hindu establishments, it was only within the last century that plains people came to live in any great numbers on the Amrabad ledge. In the old days this part of the

1. Bombay 1920. pp. 149, 150.

plateau must also have been largely covered with forest, and inhabited by the Chenchus who led much the same life as the Jungle Chenchus of the present day.

The position of the Chenchus on the fringe of the plains near Lingal and Achampet, however, is slightly different. For there can be little doubt that the majority of these Chenchus were once inhabitants of the adjacent hilly country and have only come down to the plains in comparatively recent times. This emigration has not yet ceased and many Chenchus of Boramacheruvu, Pullaipalli, Irla Penta and other jungle villages have near relatives who live in lowland settlements, while on the other hand a few Chenchus from the plains have resettled on the upper plateau in such villages as Rampur and Bikit Penta. There have also been movements of population on the eastern side of the plateau; for with the abandonment of such villages as Elpamachena and Tatigundal many Chenchus left the upper plateau for villages on the lower ledge like Upnotla and Tirmalapur, where other hamlets of Chenchus already existed.

Wherever close contact between Chenchus and Telugu peasants has been established, be it through the emigration of Chenchus into the plains or the invasion of the uplands by plains folk, the Chenchus have had to relinquish their old mode of life and adapt themselves to the economy of their more progressive neighbours. This adaptation has of necessity led to a gradual transformation of their entire culture pattern, and is one more phase in an age-old process which for thousands of years has been at work in the Deccan. Everywhere it has been the cultures of the primitive jungle folks that have given way before the expansive force of agricultural populations and many are the aboriginal tribes who have long been absorbed within the social system of the dominant races.

The time at my disposal did not permit of a close study of the "Village Chenchus," as they are called by their kinsmen still living in the jungle, but I visited many of the more important of their settlements and in travelling from hamlet to hamlet I was able to observe the process of their adaptation to a changed environment in its various stages. Roughly speaking it is possible to classify them into two groups, representing different degrees of assimilation. Those Chenchus who dwell in the plains villages between Lingal and Achampet and in the villages in the westernmost part of the Amrabad ledge such as Mananur and Mulkamavadi have proceeded furthest along the path of material progress and consequently consider themselves superior not only to all Jungle Chenchus but also to the other and less prosperous group which is located mainly in the villages east of Amrabad such as Madhavanpalli, Tirmalapur, Upnotla, Chitlamgunta and Maradugu.

In the Chenchu settlements near Lingal and Mananur the houses are built of solid mud with roofs thatched with grass. Some have retained the round shape and conical roof of the traditional Chenchu dwelling, but others are rectangular like those of the local peasantry. The round houses are as large as the largest of Jungle Chenchu houses and a mud wall partitioning off the hearth takes the place of the wattle screen. But the rectangular houses are considerably bigger, being twice as long as broad, with a door that permits of entry without stooping and a roof that slopes from a ridge pole and is thatched on four sides. Generally they contain two rooms and from the mud walls shelves are hollowed for pots and drinking vessels. Grouped in twos and threes round a common courtyard, where an occasional papaya tree grows, with walls gaily painted in patterns of red and white in the manner typical of that part of the Telugu country, these small hamlets present a cheerful and comfortable appearance. But these are the homesteads of Chenchus whom fate has favoured, and most of the Chenchu settlements attached to Telugu villages give the impression of poverty and untidiness. In Kondanagol, for instance, the houses stand huddled together at some distance from the main village and at the time of my visit the wattle walls were precariously patched with dried leaves and the fences were dilapidated, while in the country east of Amrabad the average Chenchu hamlet consists of a few round houses which except for thin mud plaster on parts of the wattle walls are exactly like those of Jungle Chenchus.

The material culture of the Village Chenchus very much resembles that of the lower Telugu castes, but there is a wide range in quality and quantity of implements and household goods which varies considerably with the individual economic situation. In the Lingal-Mananur group the houses often contain earthen jars two or three feet high for storing grain, and brass vessels for cooking and serving food, while pounding blocks and pestles for husking grain as well as mill-stones are an almost universal possession. There are those men who have their own ploughs and agricultural implements and some Chenchus of Lingal even possess carts. But in the poorer settlements only earthen pots and vessels are used, grinding mills and pounding blocks are shared by several families and no Chenchu has his own plough.

In their dress the Village Chenchus are gradually conforming to the fashions of their neighbours. Men wear turbans of various colours and wrap themselves in white cloths. On the Amrabad ledge they still wear *gosh batta* and *kash-kako* like Jungle Chenchus, but in the villages of the Achampet-Lingal plain men have adopted the short *dhoti* of the lower agricultural castes. Women dress in bodice and *sari* of brilliant colours, preferably blue and yellow, and some wear the marriage *puste* of the Telugu peasant as well as ornaments of con-

siderable value.

Although they are as a whole much more sophisticated, with a greater wealth of material possessions and improved technique with regard to such activities as housebuilding, there is no uniformity in the economic situation of the Village Chenchus, who even within the most advanced group show considerable local differences. In Lingal we find the Chenchus owning not only dry but also wet fields, and cultivating rice, millet and certain vegetables to an extent which renders them entirely independent of jungle produce. They possess considerable numbers of buffaloes, oxen, goats and chickens and use their own bullocks for ploughing. Men who do not own fields sufficient for their support, however, enter the employ of cultivators of other castes and in some villages such as Kondanagol and Balmor we find all the Chenchus of the hamlets attached to these Telugu settlements working fields of wealthy villagers and handing over half the harvest to their landlords in lieu of rent.

In Mananur some ten Chenchus cultivate their own fields, growing millet, maize and castor seed, but the majority work fields of villagers of other castes on a fifty-fifty basis. Here many are heavily indebted to merchants and money-lenders, and when the harvest is gathered, they have to give up most of the crop in order to pay their rent and repay the grain, which during the previous year they have taken on credit. So it is that after landlord and merchant have claimed their dues little remains to the Chenchus for their own consumption. Evidently the area cultivated by the Village Chenchus of the Amrabad ledge is not sufficient to secure their independence from other sources of food supply and they have still their digging-sticks and go root collecting in the nearby jungle when they run short of grain. In addition they do forest work whenever the occasion arises, cutting wood and bamboos for contractors, who pay them at a rate of four annas a day or one rupee for two hundred bamboos. Here too the Chenchus own a fair amount of cattle.

In Jangamreddipalli, however, which is a small village of twelve Chenchu houses and about an equal number of Telugu households, no Chenchus are independent cultivators. An old man told me, that his forefathers too had lived in Jangamreddipalli, but that they did not know how to till the soil. It was only when he was a small boy, that his father was taught to plough and given bullocks by the *tahsildar*.¹ When these bullocks died, the Chenchus took a loan from Government to buy others, but they did not reap enough millet to repay it, and so the *tahsildar* took the bullocks away. Now they have no money even for seed grain, and so they have given up cultivating their own fields and for the last five years have subsisted on coolie work.

1. At that time Government tried to encourage the Chenchus to cultivate by the allotment of land and facilities for the acquisition of bullocks.



FIG. 73. Village Chenchu girl of Manamur.



FIG. 72. Village Chenchu of Mulkamavadi.



FIG. 74. *Chenchu settlement at Mananur.*



FIG. 75. *Chenchu mud-houses at Mulkamavadi.*

Near the large Telugu village of Padra are two Chenchu settlements, and here we find side by side representatives of the two main groups of Village Chenchus. One settlement consisting of Katraj and Daserolu clans closely resembles the villages of the Mananur type, and the other lying about three furlongs further east is inhabited by people of Jela, Menlur and Sirraru clan. The people of the former settlement have a fair amount of cattle, and although they have fields of their own, they work mainly on the fields of men of other castes and are paid for their labours in grain. A middle aged man told me that his father and grandfather had both lived in Padra and that then the Chenchus had still collected roots and jungle fruits, but nowadays they no longer possess digging sticks and seldom collect minor forest produce; "for what is the use of going to the jungle, if the contractors take everything away?" He referred to the people of the other settlement as "Jungle Chenchus" and pretended that between them and his village there was little social contact and no intermarriage, for he and the other men of his village took their wives from villages near Mananur.

The second hamlet has a decidedly less prosperous look. The houses are round with wattle walls plastered with mud on the outside. The inhabitants, however, declared that they were exactly like the Chenchus of the other settlement, but this is evidently not quite true, for they possess neither cattle nor fields and depend entirely on coolie work for other castes. Most of their wives come from villages to the east and there were two women from the other side of the Dindi River.

There can be no doubt that this settlement belongs to the eastern group of Village Chenchus whose economic situation is far less favourable than that of the more progressive groups near Mananur and Lingal.

In Tirmalapur, for instance, the Chenchus have no fields and no domestic animals except a few chickens and dogs. Sometimes they work for wealthy men of other castes and are paid between $\frac{1}{2}$ seer and 1 seer of millet a day. When there is no work on the fields, they go to the hills and collect fruits and roots, but they have no iron digging sticks and use instead strong stakes of spiked bamboo. Most families claim to have come from the now deserted village of Tatigundal, where they still go on their collecting excursions, and when camping in Sarlapalli at the end of April, I met several people from Tirmalapur, who were visiting relations in Sarlapalli, Timmareddipalli and Koman Penta for the fruit and mohua season. Except that they live close to a village of plains people and do seasonal coolie work, they do not differ very much from Jungle Chenchus.

The Chenchus of Upnotla live under similar conditions. Four of their houses stand close to the main village and five at a distance of one or two furlongs. Today, they are almost entirely dependent on

the work which they do for *banya* and cultivators of other castes, and at time they work for graziers and herdsmen, receiving either goats or cash in payment.

Very similar conditions exist in Maradugu, Ippapalli, and all the other settlements in the country sloping down to the Dindi River, and I believe it may be said that the Chenchus of these villages live in a more precarious situation than any other group of Chenchus. For they have lost the freedom and economic independence of the Jungle Chenchus and have not yet succeeded in attaining even a modest measure of economic stability in their new environment. As shown by the case of Gangaru of Upnotla (cf. p. 261), they should be able to acquire live-stock, but owing to their impoverishment they never seem capable of retaining it for very long. A factor that greatly augments their economic difficulties is the unfortunate desire to ape the manners of other castes in their expenditure at weddings, for this runs them into debt and increases their dependency.

In their social order and customs the Chenchus in close touch with Telugu castes have not yet undergone any radical changes and differ indeed only slightly from those who dwell in the jungle. With the curbing of their nomadic spirit, the village community has grown into a more permanent unit, but the exogamy of clan and village, the relative position of men and women, and the administration of justice have remained almost the same.

The clans occurring among the Village Chenchus are in part those found on the upper plateau, and they too seem to have a regional distribution. Katraj and Nimal, Balmor and Urtalu predominate in the plains villages round Lingal and Achampet, while Nallapoteru, Daserolu, Urtalu, Kaniama and Katraj are the clans found in the Mananur groups. Menlur with its sub-clan Daunsen, Silam, Sirraru and Sigarlu with its sub-clan Jela on the other hand are restricted to the villages east of Amrabad. A few isolated Nimal people are found in the latter group, but no people of Tokal clan live in any of the villages of the Amrabad ledge. As among the Jungle Chenchus the clans are exogamous and endo-clan marriages, although existent, do not appear to occur more frequently than on the upper plateau and are definitely considered irregular.

Most settlements consist of members of two or three clans, but it is unusual to marry within one's own settlement and most people find their marriage partners in neighbouring villages. The Chenchus of the Mananur group intermarry occasionally with the plains villages near Lingal, while those to the east of Amrabad entertain marriage-relations with the Chenchus of Nalgonda District on the other side of the Dindi River, and in rare cases also with the Chenchus of Madras Presidency. In the majority of marriages the couple resides in the

husband's village, but there are also men who live in the village of their wife. Polygamy seems to be slightly more prevalent than among the Jungle Chenchus, but I have not heard of a man having more than two wives.

In every village there is a *peddamanchi*, whose dignity is generally hereditary. He does not draw any benefits from his office and his position does not seem to differ very much from the *peddamanchi* of the Jungle Chenchus, although owing to the greater contact with other castes he acts more often as the spokesman of the community. Quarrels are settled by means of *panchayat*, for which *peddamanchi* and the old men of several villages assemble, and fines imposed are converted into toddy and a feast for the assembly. In Tirmalapur I was told that the people of Menlur clan speak first in a *panchayat*, and although there are no Menlur people in the Mananur group, even there the people admitted that the Menlur clan was the "biggest." The Chenchus of Lingal, however, disclaim all knowledge of even the existence of a Menlur clan, and this confirms the view that the original home of the Menlur clan lies in the east (cf. p. 91).

The continuous contact with Hinduism has not unnaturally had an effect on the religious ideas of the Village Chenchus, although the influence is in no way uniform and varies from village to village. The Chenchus of Mananur and Mulkamavadi have given up the cult of Garelamaisama for the worship of the Hindu deities Lingamaya, Potsamma, Potraj, and Ellamma, and they also make *puja* for Hanuman sometimes outside and sometimes inside his temple. But in Jangamreddipalli the Chenchus still pray to Garelamaisama and they declared that Garelamaisama accompanies them to the jungle whenever they go to gather roots and fruits.

In Tirmalapur I was told that Garelamaisama is not worshipped, while *puja* are made for Lingamaya, Peddamma and Vidamma. The cult of Ellamma, who has a small temple near Tirmalapur, has also been adopted by the Chenchus, but they do not participate in the weekly *puja* performed there by the Hindu castes. The Chenchus of Upnotla, on the other hand, declared that Garelamaisama and Lingamaya are the greatest gods, and that whenever an exceptional amount of food falls into their hands they give an offering to Garelamaisama.

In plains villages such as Kondanagol and Balmor Garelamaisama is still occasionally propitiated, though Lingamaya, Ellamma, Vidamma, and Potsamma seem to be more prominent in Chenchu minds, while in Lingal the Chenchus seem to have forgotton even the name of Garelamaisama.

Thus it would seem that among the Village Chenchus the cult of Garelamaisama is on the decline, for as a deity mainly connected with jungle life she is naturally losing importance in the changing milieu,

where the gods and godlings of rustic Telugu religion are now firmly established. Garelamaisama is unknown to most Hindus, and those who have heard of the name describe her as a "deity of the jungle people." Bhagavantaru, on the other hand, is revered by both Chenchus and Telugu people.

When at the end of this brief review we now try to appreciate the economic and cultural position of all those Chenchus living in symbiosis with Telugu folks, we realize that they do by no means constitute a homogeneous community which can as a whole be contrasted with the Jungle Chenchus of the upper plateau. The transition from nomadic food-gathering to a more settled mode of life has been ruled by different circumstances in the case of each group, and therein lies the explanation for the extraordinary diversity in material status. The Chenchus of Lingal, who appear by far the most progressive group, must have originally dwelt in the foot-hills and already taken to cultivation at a time when the demand for jungle produce lent them a certain prosperity and allowed them to acquire cattle. Then the pressure on the land on the fringe of the plains was not as great as it is today, and they were also able to acquire the valuable fields which they still hold. That they have retained this land seems however due to the purely incidental circumstance of the establishment of a penal settlement for criminal tribes in Lingal. Such neighbours made the land in the immediate vicinity undesirable for cultivators of higher castes and the Chenchus were left in undisturbed possession. To appreciate the general trend of development in places where Chenchu proprietors did not enjoy such exceptional immunity, we have only to look a few miles further afield: in Kondanagol not one Chenchu owns the land he cultivates, and here even at the best half of the fruits of a man's labour falls into the hands of landlords. In Mananur, where one is again struck by the substantial look of the Chenchus' tidy little settlement, their position is also unusually favoured, for these Chenchus seem to have acquired fields before the flood-tide of land seeking immigrants from the plains overran the Amrabad ledge, and in spite of their indebtedness some men have succeeded in retaining this land. Here the relevant factor enabling them to withstand the pressure of avaricious land-owners and merchants is undoubtedly the cash wages which they can earn by forest-work for contractors. Mananur lies on a motor road close to valuable bamboo-jungle and with the frequent demand for forest labour a Chenchu is seldom at a loss to make a few rupees. And in the background there is always the forest where he can find roots and fruits to tide him over times of scarcity. Thus the Mananur Chenchus cull the best from two worlds and appear a content and happy community with not too low a standard of life.

This should not, however, lead us to conclude that the economic

distress prevailing among the Chenchus to the east of Amrabad is transitory and that in time they too will attain as favourable a position as those of the Mananur group. For in the country sloping down to the Dindi River the colonizing peasant folks penetrated into the midst of the forest while the Chenchus still pursued their old occupation of food-gathering, and the interference with the forest dwellers' traditional mode of life was therefore too abrupt to allow of a harmonious acculturation. They were confronted by a new economic system before ever their conservative minds were tuned to its exigencies and all that the close contact with the Telugu peasantry gave to these Chenchus was a taste for a novel type of food and clothing, commodities which they could only obtain by work as farmhands and herdsmen for the new settlers. Short-lived was such comparative prosperity as enjoyed by men like Siram Gangaru, for once the colonists were established and forest had been converted into arable land, coolie-work was not always forthcoming: the average peasant of these outlying villages in a tract of indifferent soil is poorer than the agriculturists in the rich irrigated lands near Mananur and the Lingal-Achampet plain and employs daily labourers only in the busiest seasons. Inferior jungle growth and bad communications make exploitation of bamboo and timber unprofitable and there is consequently little demand for forest labour, while the auctioning of minor forest produce and the restrictions on the gathering of bamboo for basket-making, here more easily enforced than in the jungles of the upper plateau, deprive these Village Chenchus of the possibilities of legitimate trade and barter. Their economic position is therefore precarious: they lead a hand to mouth existence, not spiced and invigorated by the untrammelled freedom of the forest dweller, but dependent on coolie work for other communities which provides them even in the best of years with only the meagrest means of subsistence. In the settlements of the Jungle Chenchus there may be a lack of household goods, but never an atmosphere of squalor, the hamlets of the eastern group of Village Chenchus on the other hand often breathe poverty and destitution and it is perhaps no accident that here we find more cases of yaws than among the Chenchus of the upper plateau.

The prosperous Mananur Chenchus' disinclination to intermarry with the impoverished folk of the villages east of Amrabad is not altogether surprising, and although there is as yet no social ban on such unions, the development of two endogamous groups among the Village Chenchus is to be clearly foreseen. With the adoption of the principles of Hindu society the existing practice will no doubt ultimately be confirmed by definite caste rules, and the emphatic denunciation of marriage relations between the two groups voiced by the more respectable of the Chenchus of Padra foreshadows already such a course of

events. The eastern Village Chenchus still intermarry occasionally with Jungle Chenchus, but the people of such villages as Mananur and Mulkamavadi no longer take wives from the upper plateau. The Chenchus of Lingal explained that marriages with Jungle Chenchus led to no good: one or two of the young men had fallen in love with girls from the hills and brought them home, but although they were given nice clothes and plenty of good food they were not happy in Lingal and after a short time ran away to the forest and never returned. The gulf between the two modes of life is apparently too deep to be bridgeable in one generation and the Jungle girls' distaste for the settled existence is paralleled by the sentiments of a young Chenchu whom I met in Lingal bazaar. He was a half-brother of Gengi of Boramacheruvu¹, and was working off a debt to a merchant in Dharamwaram, but he longed for the day when he could go back to the hills and the life of the forests. Such Jungle Chenchus as may come down into the plains for a time to do coolie work are not automatically absorbed within the community of settled Chenchus but set up their own temporary hamlets. Thus in Lingal I found Pedda Lachi, the sister-in-law of the *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu, living with her husband in a small hovel far away from the prosperous Chenchu settlement with whose inmates she seemed to entertain hardly any social contact.

Whatever the material prospects of the Village Chenchus, there can be no doubt that within a few generations they will have taken their place in the social order as a recognized Hindu caste and it is indeed fortunate that all Chenchus have long been accorded the social privileges of caste-Hindus, *i.e.* they may draw water from the same wells as Brahmins and they have free access to Hindu temples. How the Chenchus attained this comparatively high social status, while in other parts of India primitive jungle tribes became low castes and untouchables when assimilated within the caste system², is not easy to explain, but perhaps it was in part due to their early association with hermits and priests of the outlying temples and to the unconscious respect felt by Hindus for the free lords of the forest who controlled the approaches to so sacred a place as the great Shiva temple at Sri Sailam and whose services were required during the annual pilgrimage.³ And as the Chenchus conformed to the Hindus' prejudice against the flesh of the cow—at first presumably because they had no means of obtaining beef and later because they followed the practice of temple

1. Cf. Gengi's life-story given in Chapter XXIX.

2. The Panyans and Pulayans of Malabar, for instance, stand at the very bottom of the social scale.

3. That this attitude does not belong altogether to the past was demonstrated by the opinion of a Hindu officer of the penal settlement in Lingal, who in all earnestness talked of the height of moral perfection which the Chenchus must have reached by their voluntary renunciation of all earthly goods and their forest life of saint-like simplicity.

priests, pilgrims and merchants,—there arose no need to reverse that favourable classification which endured even when they settled in the vicinity of Telugu villages and were employed as daily labourers. Today all Chenchus are conscious of their 'high' caste and even the poorest forest-dweller will not allow a Mala or Madiga into his house or shelter.

Yet, although the Chenchus are granted the privileges of caste-Hindus, even the most progressive groups still remain in certain respects apart from the main body of the peasant population. Their houses never stand inside the villages where Komatis, Kapus, Gollas and Muslims dwell, but are situated in hamlets on the outskirts very much like the settlements of such out-castes as Malas and Madigas, or the ephemeral dwellings of Lambadis, Waddars and Erkalas, and whereas both Malas and Madigas play their traditional and by no means unimportant rôle in rural Telugu society, the Chenchu is as yet still an alien and does not participate to any great extent in the social and ritual life of the villages.

In Madras Presidency, as we shall see presently, special schools have been established for Chenchu boys and girls; but in Hyderabad there are no literate Chenchus. However, Government schools exist in all the larger villages such as Mananur, Mulkamavadi and Lingal and it should be possible to impart primary education to Chenchu children particularly as no caste prejudices stand in the way of their sharing the class rooms with high caste pupils. But we cannot expect that the Chenchus will themselves take the initiative and in the first years it may be necessary to render attendance attractive to Chenchu children by material benefits, perhaps in the form of free meals as provided in the schools of Madras. By such encouragement of education Government could help the Village Chenchus to maintain their favourable social position and to rise gradually to an economic level commensurate with their status in the caste system.

Once able to read and write Chenchus of such villages as Mananur, who are progressive and used to intercourse with plains people and yet still retain their connection with the forest, should be eminently suitable for employment as forest-guards and their services would no doubt prove invaluable in any scheme for the improvement of the Jungle Chenchus' economic situation. The poorer Village Chenchus on the other hand might be used in increasing numbers for collecting minor forest produce and felling work in the place of the labour now imported by contractors¹; for agricultural labour has accustomed these Chenchus to regular work and the proximity of the villages east of Amrabad to the Vatellapalli Range would allow the exploitation of

1. In Kurnool District forest-contracts are given only on condition that Chenchu labour is employed whenever available (cf. p. 314).

forest on the plateau with labour drafted from among the group of Village Chenchus most in need of assistance. And once their position is thereby stabilized such Government support as the allotment of inalienable land and the granting of loans for the purchase of bulls and seed-grain may prove more successful than former attempts to settle the Chenchus as cultivators.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE CHENCHUS OF MADRAS PRESIDENCY

ALTHOUGH the scope of this monograph is limited to the Chenchus of Hyderabad, many references have been made to their kinsmen across the Kistna River, with whom they entertain marriage relations and frequent social intercourse. It will therefore be useful to add a brief account of the Chenchus of Madras Presidency, where in the Census operations of 1941 altogether 9,003 members of the tribe were returned. Of these 5,878 lived in Kurnool district and 2,104 in the neighbouring district of Guntur, while small groups were found in several districts. A visit to the part of Kurnool bordering on Hyderabad gave me a general impression of the material and social conditions under which many of the Madras Chenchus live today, but my enquiries were of a limited nature and mainly concerned with their adaptation and reactions to a new economic system. However, thanks to the information and facilities extended by Mr. M. H. Krishnaswamy, Working Plan Officer, Kurnool, and Mr. Gaffar Baig, Forester at Bairuti, I obtained a much wider understanding of the peculiar circumstances prevailing among the Chenchus of Kurnool and the measures taken for their benefit than would otherwise have been possible during a short tour.

For the last eighty years the Chenchus of Kurnool have been a matter of concern for Government and various policies have been tried in an attempt to better their conditions and to wean them from their nomadic life and those habits which were thought to impede a successful exploitation of the forest. The early measures adopted for this purpose have been fully discussed by E. Thurston¹ and need be mentioned here but briefly; but the present methods of administration and their social and economic implications will be dealt with more fully, for the results of so extensive a scheme must be of considerable interest both to the anthropologist studying processes of acculturation as well as to those called upon to decide the future policy to be adopted towards the Chenchus of Hyderabad.

As early as the first half of the 19th century agricultural populations encroaching on the fringe of the forests began to narrow the territory in which the Chenchus had hitherto been free to roam and in 1860 the introduction of forest conservancy resulted in a curtail-

1. Op. cit., Vol. II., pp. 28-34.

ment of their rights in the forest itself. It is probably safe to assume that originally the Chenchus of Madras were as inoffensive and as shy as those still living in the jungles of Hyderabad, but with the restrictions imposed on their activities a rapid change seems to have taken place; the Chenchus resorted to petty banditry, and the authorities were soon inundated with complaints of such offences as the wilful firing of jungles and theft and robbery.

The necessity of safeguarding not only the property of the neighbouring cultivators but also the welfare of the thousands of pilgrims who come yearly to Sri Sailam led Government to institute various measures for controlling the Chenchus and these eventually culminated in the establishment of large settlements under the supervision of the Forest Department. The Chenchus were granted rights on all forest produce for domestic purposes as well as for sale, and were allowed to fish and hunt freely and to graze a limited amount of cattle, sheep, and goats. In 1883-84 the Forest Department, aiming at the exclusion of the merchants to whom the Chenchus were heavily indebted, took over the collection of minor forest produce, and used Chenchu labour for the purpose. But the scheme was not a success and in 1897-98 this policy was abandoned and the Chenchus reverted to their original method of selling the minor forest produce independently to merchants.

About this time it seems to have been generally recognized that the Chenchus must be taught the value of labour if their economic position was to be stabilized. Schemes were devised to encourage the Chenchus to take to cultivation and a certain amount of land was allotted near the settlements for agricultural purposes. Later, in the years 1905 to 1914 another attempt was made to provide congenial work for the Chenchus and large-scale plantation schemes were undertaken at considerable expense, but in the long run these proved unprofitable and had ultimately to be given up. The consequent lack of employment led to a further increase in Chenchu crime, which consisted mainly in the plundering of the crops of nearby cultivators.

In 1917 a special officer was appointed in charge of the Chenchus for a period of two years to investigate the position and thereafter the District Forest Officer, Kurnool West acted as Special Chenchu Officer with additional appointments of an Assistant Chenchu Officer, a Chenchu Sub-Assistant Surgeon and an Education Superintendent.

When in 1919 in spite of these administrative measures there was a still further increase in Chenchu crime, the Forest Department began working emergency coupes near the largest settlements and employed the Chenchus for felling work. However, this policy proved not only unremunerative, but also destructive to the forest and in 1925 it was abandoned in favour of the leasing of bamboo coupes to contractors, who were obliged to use Chenchu labour for their exploitation.



FIG. 76. *Chenchu of Sri Sailam wearing a sacred thread.*



Thus during the last decades, various measures had to be undertaken to provide the Chenchus with work and their existence is dependent on continuous assistance from Government. In the old times the Chenchus of Madras lived like those of Hyderabad scattered over the hills in small groups of a few households and subsisted on game and the fruits of the forest. But the compulsory gathering together of many families into large villages (*gudem*) disrupted their economic system; for the edible roots and fruits in the vicinity of any settlement, though adequate for five or six households, are soon exhausted when preyed upon by fifty to a hundred families, and the provision of new sources of income became imperative.

With the exception of the Chenchu settlement of Sri Sailam, which is closely attached to the temple and has only thirty houses, the lay-out of the villages I visited bear the hall-mark of outside supervision. In Peddacheruvu the hundred and twenty Chenchu houses are arranged in rows separated by broad streets. The houses are of the round type with wattle walls and are fenced in either individually or in groups of two. A few papaya trees stand within these enclosures. In Peddacheruvu there live also Lambadis and people of the lower Telugu castes, but Nagaluti and Bairluti are pure Chenchu settlements. Nagaluti contains seventy houses and Bairluti ninety-five and here too the houses are arranged in regular blocks. In these villages round houses are rare and are used only as goat-pens, while the dwellings are square or rectangular with walls of wattle and pyramidal or ridged roofs of thatched grass. Generally the larger rectangular houses contain two rooms and there is frequently a cow-shed and a goat-pen attached, the whole establishment being enclosed by its own fence.

All these settlements are clean and well kept, yet they appear in some indefinable way inorganic and devoid of the homely atmosphere pervading a village of natural growth. The villages of the Jungle Chenchus are so small and the relations between their inhabitants so intimate, that there is no need for any outward expression of their unity, but these large settlements, which cover a considerable area, seem to lack cohesion and a social centre and it is hard to envisage how among a tribe with traditions like those of the Chenchus any community-feeling should grow out of those straight and orderly rows of houses.

In each village there are a headman and a deputy headman, who are both selected by Government on grounds of personal ability and education and receive a small salary; and in some settlements non-Chenchu plainsmen well versed in agriculture have recently been appointed as headmen in order to teach the Chenchus cultivation. I have not visited any of the settlements with such headmen, but I cannot help thinking that although the experiment may serve its purpose, the appointment of outsiders is likely to have a disintegrating effect on the

Chenchus' already crumbling social order. Even Chenchu headmen selected and paid by Government are considered as petty officials rather than natural leaders of the community, and it seems to me that the practice of appointing men sponsored by the community itself, such as the institution of *gaonbura* among the aboriginal tribes of Assam, would be more likely to lead to responsible village self-government. In the area I visited there are no hereditary *peddamanchi* with secular authority, but in each village there is a man described as *peddamanchi* who acts at *puja* and whose dignity is hereditary. A note on the Chenchus of Kurnool in the Census of India, 1931,¹ mentions an exogamous sept of chieftains and priests called *Bhumanas*, who "have precedence and at ceremonies in East Kurnool act as high priests." It is further stated that "though there is no definite chieftain class and all do not obey a recognized leader in *gudemis* where *Bhumanas* are represented one of them is generally recognized and obeyed as chief." The same note speaks of three other occupational septs, namely *Kudamala* (minister), *Desari* (officiating priest) and *Uthaluri* (village watchman). I have not been to a village where this organization existed in its full form, but it is obvious that such a division into occupational septs can only have developed in villages under strong Hindu influence.

The Forester in charge of a village or a group of villages exercises a fairly strict control over the economic and social activities of the inhabitants and deals with disputes and petty crimes in conjunction with the headman and village elders. Serious crimes, however, are brought before the regular courts, which wisely do not apply the Indian Penal Code, but pass judgement according to a code especially adapted to Chenchu conditions.

The Forest Department, as we have seen, provides most of the employment for the Chenchus; every morning there is a kind of roll-call and those men who are inclined to work are given their task for the day. Work for the Department is paid at As. 5 per day, of which As. 4 are usually paid in millet at a fixed rate and A. 1 in cash. On the other hand if the Chenchus do piece-work for contractors they can earn as much as As. 8 or As. 12 per day, and a rule highly beneficial to the Chenchus forbids contractors to employ outside labour as long as Chenchu labour is available. However, it seems that Chenchus, even when well paid, seldom work consistently, but only do just as much as will provide them with immediate food and other bare necessities; once a man has earned a small amount, he takes a rest until the money is expended and he is forced to resume work.

The Chenchus of the villages on the approaches to Sri Sailam earn appreciable amounts through the pilgrim traffic. During the

1. Vol. XIV, Madras, Part I., Report, pp. 360-363.

Sivarathri festival they collect "metta" fees from the pilgrims for providing protection to persons and property, and they also find employment as coolies for transporting luggage and carrying men in palanquins. In 1939 the receipts of "metta" fees exceeded Rs. 4,100 and in the preceding year they amounted to more than Rs. 7,000.

Of late the system of leasing minor forest produce to contractors has been replaced by co-operative societies, which arrange for both collection and disposal. These societies, of which all Chenchus of the respective settlements are members, have been started on a sound basis by a Government advance of Rs. 10,000. They buy the forest produce from the Chenchus at fixed prices, sell them in the open market, and divide any surplus among the members. Thus the profits which formerly fell to the contractors now go to the Chenchus.

In pursuance of the policy of preventing outsiders from profiting at the expense of the aboriginal special shops have been established in all important villages under the control of the Forest Department. There the Chenchus can buy grain and other food-stuffs, as well as textiles and household goods at a fair rate without being defrauded or led into debt by unscrupulous *banya*. Where literate Chenchus are available they are employed in the shops and it need hardly be emphasized how preferable these establishments are to the uncontrolled dealings of merchants.

Although today the Chenchus subsist largely on grain, they have not entirely outgrown their taste for edible tubers and wild fruits, which they still gather in considerable quantities. They have also the exclusive right to collect mohua flowers, which they use both as food and for distilling liquor.

Cattle breeding has assumed a prominent rôle in Chenchu economics and there are few men in the villages who do not possess at least a few goats. In Sri Sailam each household owns on an average three to four cows in addition to goats and chickens and in Peddacheruvu there are 250 buffaloes distributed over 120 households. In Nagaluti 70 households possess 27 bulls, 30 cows, 8 calves, 4 buffalo bulls, 30 buffalo cows, 8 buffalo calves and 52 goats, and in Bairluti 95 households possess 10 bulls, 4 buffalo bulls, 40 buffalo cows, 16 buffalo calves and 86 goats.

Cultivation, on the other hand, has only been taken up by a few Chenchus. Although Government has extended encouragement and concrete aid and in some places arrangements have been made for Chenchus to cultivate areas in conjunction with ryots of neighbouring villages, the response has been poor. In Sri Sailam only three men out of the 30 households own fields and in Peddacheruvu only eight families out of 120. In Bairluti and Nagaluti greater progress has been made, although even here only 10-20 per cent. of the men cultivate. 71 acres

dry land and 4 acres wet land are now under the plough in Bairluti, and 75 acres dry land and 24 acres wet land in Nagaluti. The main crops are various species of millet as well as rice. The Chenchus pay no revenue for their fields and generous loans repayable within five years are granted for the purchase of bulls to all those willing to take up cultivation.

In 1916 the first primary schools for Chenchus were established, and now schools for boys and girls exist in all the larger settlements while in Peddacheruvu there is a special school for girls. These schools have been made attractive to the Chenchus by providing the pupils with a meal in the middle of the day, for which Government allows 10 pies per child and in addition shirts and shorts are given to boys and frocks to girls. Opinion may be divided on the advisability of encouraging the Chenchus to wear more clothes, but no doubt can exist as to the great advantage the children derive from receiving regularly a cooked meal in the middle of the day. The attendance of the schools is satisfactory; in Bairluti for instance 55 children are enrolled and in Nagaluti 49 children, nearly half of which are girls. The children learn not only to read and write, but also such useful handicrafts as the plaiting of mats, the manufacture of leaf-plates and basket-making. Moreover, they are given practical instruction in gardening and agriculture; in Nagaluti 5 acres are cultivated by school children under the control of the teacher and the average annual yield is 300 measures of grain.

In the Chenchu schools the children read up to the fifth standard and those pupils who do well are enabled to attend the Board High School at Atmakur, where Government provides them with full board and lodging as well as clothes and all school requisites. Those who reach the final standard may undergo training as teachers and there are already several Chenchus employed as school-masters in primary schools. Others have the possibility of becoming forest-guards or of finding employment in the Chenchu shops. Although there are not yet sufficient fully qualified Chenchus to fill all the posts available they are employed in increasing numbers by the Forest Department and are said to make efficient forest guards.¹

1. Since this was written the Madras Government has published a report on the material conditions and progress of the Chenchus in the Kurnool District in 1940-41. (Government of Madras, Public (Political) Department, G. O. No. 2028, 17th September 1941, pp. 10-12) of which the paragraphs quoted below are of particular interest:

(4) "Agriculture.—The Chenchus were permitted to cultivate an extent of 3,457 acres of land; the area brought under cultivation was 1,652 acres, as against 1,532 acres during the last year. This indicates that they are evincing increasing interest in cultivation. This impetus to agricultural pursuits is partly due to the employment of agricultural headmen and deputy headmen in some *gudemis* whose main functions are to teach the Chenchus agriculture.....

The Chenchus in two *gudemis* have taken to wet cultivation.....Some Chenchus were granted loans free of interest to enable them to purchase bulls, carts and other agricultural

In spite of the many excellent results of the present enlightened policy, involving incidentally an annual expenditure of about Rs. 30,000, the development of the Chenchus in the social sphere is far from satisfactory and the surprisingly high number of serious crimes seems to

implements. Particulars relating to the amount advanced as loans, the amount recovered and the balance outstanding are shown below:—

	Rs.	a. p.
(1) Loans outstanding at the commencement of the year ..	11,026	6 6
(2) Amount advanced during the year ..	1,874	0 0
(3) Total	12,900	6 6
(4) Amount recovered	1,930	2 0
(5) Balance outstanding at the end of the year	10,970	4 6

No amount was written off as irrecoverable during the year.

(6) *Co-operative Societies.*—There is a Thrift and Loan Co-operative Society at Indireswaram in the Kurnool West division. It took up the lease of two fuel coupes in the Kurnool West division during the year. It is reported that on account of lack of co-operation, the coupes were not fully exploited. There is also a Chenchu Co-operative Purchase and Sale Society at Atmakur of which the Chenchus of the *gadems* in Sivapuram, Bairutti, Pecheruvu and Gundlabrahmaeswaram ranges are shareholders. The society worked at a profit during the year. It undertook to supply tamarind, galnuts and bees'-wax to the jails as in the last year. A loan of Rs. 10,000 was granted to the society by Government for the working of the society during 1941-42. Already a sum of Rs. 6,000 was drawn as loan. The society is also contemplating the construction of a pucca godown at Bairutti at a cost of Rs. 1,300. The loan sanctioned and drawn last year was fully repaid. The working of the society was satisfactory and its financial position sound. Full details of its assets and liabilities for 1940-41 will become available early in June 1941.

(8) *Education.*—As in last year, there were 24 elementary schools, of which one school at Pecheruvu is exclusively open to girls and is in charge of a head-mistress and an assistant. Education is imparted free in all the schools. During the year under report, 693 Chenchu boys and girls received education. The schools teach up to the Vth Standard but all of them are not complete schools. Such of the boys as were found to possess keen aptitude for higher studies were sent to the Board High School at Atmakur. The schools provide all possible attractions to pupils to attend them regularly. They were given mid-day meals, as usual; supply of books, slates, clothing, etc., continued; two sets of clothing were provided during the year as against one set in previous years. During the year, 15 Chenchu students received higher education in the Board High School at Atmakur. A private tutor to look after the boys was employed on a monthly salary of Rs. 15. A Chenchu Home was also run at Atmakur, as usual, at Government cost for free lodging and boarding of these Chenchu boys. They also received books, clothing, etc., free.

(9) *Medical Aid.*—The Chenchu Hospital at Pecheruvu continued to function during the year. It was in charge of a Sub-Assistant Surgeon. The institution proved very useful for the Chenchus. Five thousand four hundred and ninety-four outpatients and 336 in-patients were treated during the year.

(13) *Expenditure.*—The expenditure on the staff and on the other activities connected with the amelioration of the conditions of the Chenchus for 1940-41 (were) Rs. 30,289.

(15) *Employment in Government Service.*—Some Chenchus have been appointed as forest guards and forest watchers. They are found to be useful, especially in the interior forests.

(16) *General.*—On the whole, there has been steady improvement in the general economic condition of the Chenchus. The several ameliorative measures carried out so far have done much good to their well-being, and if pursued they are bound to make the condition of the Chenchus considerably better.

indicate a lack of social equilibrium. Within the last three years nearly twenty cases of murder and manslaughter committed by Chenchus of Kurnool have come into court; the majority were *crimes passionels* and victims and accused all Chenchus. Three cases that occurred in Bairluti and Nagaluti last year may serve as examples. Ankaru of Bairluti killed a man in a state of intoxication and was subsequently transported to the Andamans. Shortly afterwards Guruvaru of Bairluti killed a man with an arrow in the course of a quarrel, but since the victim had also drawn his bow, Guruvaru was discharged on the grounds that he acted in self-defence. In the same year a man of Nagaluti caught his wife in adultery and killed her with an arrow. He was also discharged.

During the two days which I spent at Bairluti one case of rape and one of attempted rape were brought before the Forester, and such offences are said to be very frequent. But since the easy morals of the women-folk often render it difficult to discover in how far the woman encouraged the offender and only pretended to have been raped when surprised by a third party, all such cases are summarily dealt with by the Foresters in charge of the settlements.

Cases of incendiarism are also fairly frequent and revenge or personal hate are the usual motives. Chenchus, however, seldom steal from each other and the theft of crops from other villages are nowadays generally petty offences.

It would appear that economic motives play little part in the cases of murder and incendiarism, and we may therefore question how it is that the Chenchus, who in the jungles of Hyderabad are quite capable of settling their quarrels peacefully, should have so many murderers within their ranks in Kurnool. The only answer which presents itself to this disturbing question is that the process of gathering the Chenchus into large settlements has undermined their own social organization and no new system has yet been evolved to replace the old order. All Chenchus in their pristine state are individualists and any man disagreeing with the other members of his group separates from them and joins another group. Thus friction is avoided and the expedient of flight saves many the bitterness of a long drawn out quarrel, absence blunting hate and personal jealousies. But in Kurnool the Chenchus are unable and indeed forbidden to leave their villages and settle elsewhere, while their traditional customs which were sufficient to check outbreaks of violence in the case of small groups of closely related families, prove inadequate to govern the relations between the members of large communities. In the old times, for instance, interference with married women was limited by the fact that the women of a man's local group were usually either his clan-sisters or the wives of his brothers or first cousins, and that distance rendered intrigues with other women comparatively difficult. Nowadays, however, the inhabitants of a settle-

ment consist of members of many clans, between whom there appears to exist little of the cohesion and mutual loyalty necessary for a healthy community life, and it may take a long time till the present unwieldy aggregations of Chenchus in the settlements established by the Forest authorities develop into organic and responsible communities.

Owing to the material progress of the Chenchus of Kurnool in recent years the differences between them and their tribesmen on the other side of the Kistna now appear considerable, but in the old days there can have been little distinction between the Chenchus south and north of the river. All the clans occurring among the Jungle Chenchus of Hyderabad, with the exception of Eravalu and Balmor, are also found in Kurnool and in addition many other clans not represented north of the Kistna. Although the Chenchus of Kurnool do to a certain extent look down on their less prosperous but proud brethren of Hyderabad, they have no prejudice against intermarriage, and quite a number of Chenchus now living on the Amrabad plateau were born in Kurnool district.

One sphere in which the changes of the last decades has had little influence is that of religion. The most prominent deities are Garelamaisama, Lingamaya and Bhagavantaru, while occasionally Amba Devi, Vidamma and Potsamma are also worshipped. When a hunter kills an animal he cuts out the liver, roasts it on the spot and offers a piece to Garelamaisama with a prayer of thanks and for future success. And it was the Chenchus of Nagaluti who told me that Garelamaisama lives in the jungles and only comes to the villages in order to see how the people fare.¹

Where there are Hindu shrines the Chenchus participate in the worship of the local deities and the Chenchus of Sri Sailam have learnt to revere Shiva and the *lingam*. Here the influence of the temple Brahmins appears to be so strong that the Chenchus have entirely given up the cult of Garelamaisama.

The Chenchus living now under Government tutelage in the Forest settlements of Kurnool will no doubt progress along lines very different from those that led the Village Chenchus of Hyderabad to their present symbiosis with the local peasantry, but there is every reason to believe that the Chenchus of Madras, benefiting from the education and the material support they now receive will be saved from turning into a class of agricultural labourers and will retain their economic independence by developing the exploitation of forest produce, cattle-breeding and ultimately also the cultivation of their own land.

1. In the villages I visited I found no trace of the cult of a goddess called Chenchu Devata, which is mentioned by E. Thurston, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 42.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

WHEN I decided to make a study of the Chenchus of Hyderabad, I believed that it would be my lot to record the rapidly disappearing culture of a tribe already doomed to extinction. Six months among the Chenchus have convinced me, however, that although they are today passing through a process of acculturation, there seems to be no reason why they should inevitably share the fate of so many other primitive tribes who are perishing before our eyes. The vitality of the Chenchus is sufficient to assure their existence for many generations to come, and if their immediate future is an object of justifiable anxiety the causes of their precarious situation do not rest with the Chenchus themselves, but on circumstances beyond their control.

Throughout the ages the Chenchus have experienced many contacts with populations of different and often higher and more advanced cultures, but the basis of their economic life was never seriously threatened until the last hundred years when the opening up of the forests brought rapid and fateful changes in its train. Never before had the barren jungles of the Chenchus been coveted by outsiders and it is only of late years that their home-lands have been subjected to constant and far reaching incursions. We have seen the different ways in which the various groups of Chenchus have reacted to these changes in their environment. In Madras Presidency the transition from a nomadic to a settled life has been accomplished under Government control, but the process has been a slow one and after more than half a century of supervision the Chenchus' position is not yet entirely stabilized. The Village Chenchus of Hyderabad, on the other hand, effected the adjustment to changes of environment unguided and unprotected. Some have attained the status of independent cultivators, but many more are landless and poverty stricken and subsist mainly on what they can earn by seasonal coolie-work.

It is only the Jungle Chenchus on the upper part of the Amrabad Plateau who still live the free life of hunters and food-collectors in their ancestral home-land and cling tenaciously to the forests which have been theirs since time immemorial. Had conditions remained what they were before the area was taken under the control of the Forest Department, the very inaccessibility of the upper plateau, ascent to which was

only by foot-paths, would probably have protected the Chenchus from a sudden onrush of outsiders, and it would have been left to them to seek trade contacts in the villages and bazaars of the plains. A few enterprising Telugu peasants might have settled in such places as Koman Penta or Kollem Penta, where small alluvial deposits permit of cultivation, but this would not have revolutionized conditions on the rest of the plateau and the Chenchus would have had ample time to habituate themselves to social and economic relations with plains folks; they could have continued to sell minor forest produce to villagers and traders, and some might gradually even have learnt the technique of plough-cultivation as the Chenchus of Mananur did several generations ago.

Today, however, developments are moving too swiftly to allow such a slow process to take its natural course. With the exploitation of the forest and the building of roads hosts of labourers annually invade the plateau, and where a few years ago the Chenchus stalked sambhur and deer in the unbroken silence of his jungles, there now rings the sound of felling axes and the rattle of bullock carts. Contractors bring outside labour into the forest to harvest the minor produce on which the Chenchu depended to barter his metal tools and household goods, while forest-guards recruit the Chenchus to work for scanty remuneration on nurseries and to help in the demarcation of coupes. So rapidly did all these innovations beset the Chenchu that he had no time to adjust himself mentally and materially to these new conditions. He remains baffled by developments which he cannot control, and is crushed by a feeling of helplessness when he watches the ever increasing inroads into the forests, which he has always considered his undisputed domain.

Were the Jungle Chenchus left entirely to themselves they would not require any assistance, for they are a vigorous race with a high birth-rate and perfectly capable of fending for themselves. But since the introduction of forest conservancy has crippled their economic potentialities and at the same time forced on them new contacts with outsiders, the authorities may find it necessary to adopt measures to protect them from the dangerous effects of a too sudden disintegration of their old mode of life. Such measures need not be dictated by purely humanitarian considerations. It is not a question of sustaining by artificial and charitable means a tribe already too emaciated to find its own means of subsistence, but rather of directing a process of adaptation and cultural change in such a way as to be most beneficial to the Chenchus as well as to the public interest.

The processes that precipitate the decline of primitive races have received increasing attention and in parts of Oceania and Africa practical measures have been adopted to stem the tide that threatened to

sweep away even those indigenous cultures which have survived the onrush of the early colonizers. In India too the danger has been recognised and authorities like J. H. Hutton, Sarat Chandra Roy, J. P. Mills, W. V. Grigson, and Verrier Elwin, have repeatedly urged the necessity of protecting the aboriginal against the impact of a 'civilization' which proves destructive when unleashed upon ancient tribal cultures. We have only to turn to the pages of the Census Report 1931, to see how conscious are administrators, forest officers and many others of the precarious situation of the tribesmen. There are three factors which seem mainly responsible for the impending doom of the tribal cultures of India: the restrictions imposed by Government on the traditional occupations of the aborigines, such as hunting, the use of forest-products, and shifting cultivation; the invasion of their habitat and subsequent alienation of their land by progressive agricultural populations; and the more or less voluntary renunciation of the old customs, ceremonies and recreations by the tribesmen themselves under the pressure of Hindu or Mission propaganda.¹ It is the general loss of *joie de vivre* and communal energy that competent observers consider the most harmful result of the disintegration of tribal culture, and no economic assistance can compensate for the collapse of a social order or revive abandoned ritual; the cultural decay of a people, eating away its vitality from within, is even more dangerous than temporary economic difficulties, which can in certain cases be remedied.

The Jungle Chenchus, however, have not yet relinquished their traditional customs and style of life, and they show none of the general apathy that usually heralds the decline of a primitive race. It should therefore be comparatively easy to safeguard their future existence with measures calculated to counteract the evils attendant on the opening up of the forest, which today threaten their economic equilibrium.

Before entering into details in regard to the methods, which might be adopted to further this aim, one fundamental question must be clarified. Should the Chenchus be allowed to persist as a forest tribe on the upper plateau or should they be encouraged to cultivate? Hitherto the few attempts that have been made to better the lot of the Hyderabad Chenchus have been based on the axiom that their future lies in the ploughing of the soil, and in the past fields were accordingly allotted to them near Vatellapalli and Koman Penta. But we have seen that these attempts have not been successful, and it would appear that the introduction of plough-cultivation on the upper plateau is

1. I do by no means suggest that all mission work has this adverse effect; where the missionaries allow for the peculiar genius of tribal cultures their sympathetic support is often a source of strength for the aborigines and revives the self-respect of those oppressed by populations more advanced in material civilization.

neither desirable from the point of view of the Chenchus nor from that of the Forest Department. The general mentality of a cultivator is radically different from that of a nomadic hunter and collector, and the Chenchus, who are still largely nomadic, have little aptitude for the prevision and the sustained effort demanded by large scale plough-cultivation. No doubt all Chenchus, if given time and favourable conditions, could gradually develop as those of Lingal have done, but this cannot be expected in the near future, and it is the immediate future, the next twenty or thirty years, which are fraught with danger for the Jungle Chenchus. During this period they can only hold their own if encouraged in the activities in which they are already proficient. The collection of minor forest produce, both for consumption and exchange against manufactured goods, must long remain one of the mainstays of their economy, and good results might be achieved by extending their digging-stick cultivation through the introduction of certain vegetables. Taro and yams, which are grown by other Indian tribes with digging-stick cultivation, would not only lend themselves to the Chenchus' gardening methods, but would also provide them with a diet to which they are accustomed, and quick growing marrows, gourds, beans and brinjals would undoubtedly appeal to them just as much as the Indian corn which they now cultivate. No forest need be sacrificed, for the clearings near most villages provide ample space for the small plots of the Chenchus, and the whole of the upper plateau can thus be retained as a forest area.

In contrast to agriculture, cattle breeding is an occupation entirely congenial to the Chenchu and his nomadic habits, and the Jungle Chenchus have without any help from Government acquired a considerable number of buffaloes and oxen. In this aptitude for handling cattle may well be discovered an important possibility for the future, and if the Chenchus were no longer forced by economic necessity to sell the larger part of their calves, I could well imagine that they might gradually become a pastoral tribe, combining the breeding of cattle with gardening and the collecting of forest produce. Owing to the existence of perennial water in several places the upper plateau constitutes a valuable grazing reserve and it would appear highly desirable to develop it as such. Nowadays Lambadi graziers drive large herds up to the plateau during the hot season, and occasionally cultivators of the plains entrust some of their cattle to Chenchus during this period. If the Chenchus were to develop as a tribe of herdsmen, increasing numbers of plains villagers might be prepared to employ them to look after their cattle, and this would open a new source of income.

Work for the Forest Department is at present not very popular, but this distaste hangs largely on the question of payment, for the Chenchus do not consider the present remuneration sufficient to

make a day's work worth while. Yet, they have proved useful in demarcating coupes and in plantation work, and if a minimum wage were fixed, they would probably come forward in sufficient numbers. It would be undesirable, however, to make the Chenchus so dependent on work provided by the Forest Department that they could no longer fall back on their traditional food-gathering whenever such employment was not forthcoming; for we have seen the difficulties which the Madras Government has experienced in securing the Chenchus' livelihood once their own economic system was disorganized. The happiest medium may be to preserve the Jungle Chenchus as a tribe of food-collectors and cattle-breeders, on whom the Forest Department can rely for fire-protection, plantation work and demarcation of coupes, while outside labour might be brought in for road-work and felling, for which they show as yet little aptitude and inclination.

I believe, moreover, that the Chenchus could also be induced to co-operate with the Forest authorities in another way. The care of plantations could be entrusted to individual village-communities, who would for a very modest reward keep up the fences and clear plantations of weeds in much the same way as they care for their plots of millet, Indian corn and tobacco. How to awaken the interest of a primitive people in any new occupation is always a problem, but with some imagination it should be possible to achieve such an aim. If one could succeed in linking the new enterprise with the people's old culture much would be gained, and I believe that a few experiments in this direction might be worth while. In the case of the Chenchus one might initiate the work on every plantation with a small feast including an offering to Garelamaisama or one of the local deities, who in accordance with Chenchu thought would be promised a second offering if the plantation under her care prospered. A moderate quantity of millet and one or two pots of liquor would be quite sufficient for such a ceremony, and the Chenchus would feel that the plantation was not something outside their own sphere of life but connected with one of their deities and therefore a matter for their concern. Tribal cultures are usually elastic enough to absorb many beliefs and customs of neighbouring peoples, and there seems to be no reason why new activities should not be cloaked in old and familiar ritual to render them more acceptable. Whether such an experiment could be successfully inaugurated in the case of the Chenchus is difficult to say without trial, but I believe that the vitality of many primitive cultures might be preserved, if care were taken to embody new occupations within the existing texture of tribal life and traditional thought.¹

1. A remarkable example of the association of an entirely new occupation with tribal ritual are the annual ceremonies which the Hill Reddis perform at the beginning of the bamboo and timber felling season; the timber merchants by whom they are employed have realized the importance of this rite for the progress of the work and provide goats and pigs required for the sacrifices to the hill-deities.

Co-operation between the Chenchus and the Forest authorities is undoubtedly in the interest of both parties, but a preliminary condition for such co-operation is the recognition of the Chenchus as the responsible beings which they are if properly treated. Today considerable sympathy is shown to the Chenchus by the higher officials of the Forest Department, but the relations between forest-guards and aborigines are unfortunately not very cordial and the cry against the oppressiveness of subordinate officials in backward areas, voiced alike by administrators¹ and anthropologists² finds an echo in the forest of Amrabad. No better way could be found to exclude friction between the Chenchus and the forest-guards, who have little understanding for the *jangali* aboriginal, than to restrict as far as possible the employment of outsiders as forest-guards on the upper plateau and to entrust responsible Chenchus with part of their duties. At first literate Chenchus from Kurnool District could be recruited, while later such Village Chenchus from the Amrabad ledge as have received primary education may become available; and even on the upper plateau there are many intelligent and trustworthy Chenchus who could be employed, if not in the full capacity of forest-guards, certainly as forest-watchmen. A Forester stationed on the upper plateau would probably be sufficient to control the activities of outsiders, such as contractors and graziers, with whom the Chenchus might be unable to deal, while responsible Chenchus could be recruited as watchmen in the areas of their respective villages and taught to keep up plantations and fire-lines. These men would find no difficulty in mobilising Chenchu labour whenever required, particularly if the question of wages is satisfactorily settled. The Forest Officers would naturally have to devote some time to the instruction and supervision of these Chenchu watchmen, but I believe that if tackled in the right spirit the Chenchus would prove very helpful and no less efficient than the present forest-guards from the plains, who hate the life in the remoteness of the forest.

While the appointment of Chenchus as forest-watchmen would raise their self-esteem and social status, their economic position could be immensely improved by a clarification of their rights on minor forest produce. Owing to the adoption of clothes and the need for such articles as knives, axes and pots, the Chenchu is faced with the necessity of finding marketable products to sell or tender in exchange. Cattle-owners sell their ghee to merchants in the neighbouring plains villages, but others have to rely on the sale of jungle produce. At present the rights of the Chenchus to the minor forest produce are not clearly

1. W. V. Grigson, *The Maria Gonds of Bastar*, London 1937, pp. 284-285. James W. Best, *Forest Life in India*, London, 1935, pp. 134-136.

2. Verrier Elwin, *The Baiga*, London, 1939, pp. 515-518.

defined; many forest products are auctioned to contractors and the portion that falls to the Chenchus is very limited. Certainly the Chenchus sell illicitly a fair quantity of minor forest produce but the secrecy they are forced to observe reacts unfavourably on their character and is gradually impairing their once-famed honesty and frankness. It would therefore seem highly advantageous to establish the position once and for all and to assign to the Chenchus the exclusive exploitation of certain minor forest produce, even though this would entail a sacrifice on the part of the Forest Department. At the same time the Chenchus should be granted the right of free chase within the boundaries of their own territory. Their bows and arrows and the few old muzzle-loaders which they possess are hardly destructive enough to reduce the game to any serious extent.

The allotment of certain forest produce to the Chenchus would be the first step towards an improvement of their economic position, but if possible it should be implemented by organised disposal of this produce. At present the Chenchus have no other market than the local merchants, who make quite exorbitant profits over these transactions and often lead the simple-minded jungle folk into debt. In Madras the Chenchus dispose of their produce through a co-operative society, and I believe that similarly the Forest Department of Hyderabad may find it expedient to establish a shop on the plateau, where the Chenchus could sell the produce they collect at fixed prices and at the same time buy millet and perhaps also textiles and the most essential household goods. The Chenchus would soon learn to make the fullest use of such an organization and would thereby receive more goods for their produce and be prevented from falling into debt.

There are many voices that insist on schools and medical attendance as primary measures for the 'uplift' of primitive tribes. Regular visits of a travelling dispensary could undoubtedly do a great deal of good among the Chenchus both of the villages and the upper plateau. But I do not think that school-education, however desirable for the Village Chenchus, is at present practicable for the Jungle Chenchus. The smallness of their settlements and their seasonal nomadism would preclude the regular attendance of a sufficient number of children to warrant the establishment of a school in any of the villages existing today, and to collect the Chenchus into larger villages, as has been done in Kurnool, would disrupt their social organization as well as their economic system and Government would saddle themselves with the responsibility of providing them constantly with labour. For it is only as long as food-gatherers live in small groups that the wild fruits and roots available within easy reach of a settlement suffice as their sole food-supply.

Quite recently the upper plateau has been declared a sanctuary

for birds and game, and it should be feasible to go a step further and to convert the whole area into a Chenchu Reserve where the original lords of the forest would be sheltered from both exploitation by outsiders and a forcible revolution of their lives until such a time when selected contacts have prepared them for a change in their economy and the unrestricted intercourse with other populations.

Reserves for aboriginal tribes have been established in America, Africa and Australia, not, as is often asserted, because anthropologists wish to seclude these tribes as "museum specimens," but because it has been recognized that pitchforked upon a world they cannot comprehend they have no other chance of survival.¹ Certain districts in India, such as the Naga Hills and the Sadiya Frontier Tract, are reserves in all but name and similar measures may have to be adopted in other parts of the country.

It has been argued that by isolating primitive tribes from the surrounding populations farther advanced in material development a natural process of evolution is obstructed, but all those with personal experience of the happy, pulsating life of a tribe in a protected area, and of the squalid and monotonous existence of detribalized and economically enslaved aborigines realize the beneficial results of judiciously applied protection against the incursion of outsiders and an all too sudden impact of foreign cultures. This does not mean that primitive tribes should be cut off from all contacts with the outside world. What is needed is only the exclusion of those contacts which lead to a disintegration of the tribal culture and the exploitation of the aborigines by their "civilized" neighbours. Since conditions vary from tribe to tribe no general rule can be formulated as to which contacts produce these effects and must consequently be excluded, but the accumulated experience of administrators and anthropologists, gained among primitive populations in many parts of the world and laid down in an extensive literature, should enable us to devise an appropriate policy for every individual case.

The lower a tribe stands in the scale of material progress, the smaller are its chances of withstanding the pressure of more advanced populations and the greater the need for protection. While in the case of large agricultural tribes a temporary control of their dealings with outsiders and an education in harmony with their traditional culture and social organization may be sufficient to assure their economic independence and the functioning of their tribal institutions, more stringent measures are required to prevent the extinction of the last small groups of nomadic food-gatherers. Poorly armed to

1. Since this was written Verrier Elwin has refuted at some length what he calls the puerile charge, "that anthropologists in India desire to keep the aborigines in a sort of Zoo in order to preserve them as specimens and material for the exercise of their science." (*Do we really want to keep them in a Zoo?* The Indian Journal of Social Work, Vol. I., 1942, pp. 438-448).

compete with more progressive populations, these tribes can seldom hold their own, once the seclusion of their hills and jungles is broken and they are confronted with new contacts and a transformation of their environment.

The ill-effects of this sudden clash with more advanced civilizations can be mitigated by establishing reserves in which the aborigines can continue their old life at least for a limited period of time. Given such a breathing space even the most primitive tribes can gradually adapt themselves to changed conditions and find their place in a world where contact with other races has become unavoidable. Nothing short of such protection can safeguard the future of the Jungle Chenchus of Hyderabad and it would seem that the creation of a Chenchu Reserve on the upper part of the Amrabad Plateau should be all the easier since it would in no way conflict with vital interests of other sections of the population.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

VILLAGE CENSUS

The following pages contain a house-to-house census of all Chenchu villages on the upper plateau. In each house the name, clan and home-village of the householder is given, followed by the same data in regard to his wife, and the names of all children, living and deceased, and those of their mates. Names of persons in residence are underlined, while deceased persons are marked by a cross after the name. The approximate age of children is given wherever possible.

Owing to the nomadic habits of the Chenchus the population of their villages fluctuates considerably and the data of any census reflect only the composition of the various local-groups at one particular time. Here the population of each village is returned as it existed at the time of my first visit, while later changes are indicated in the accompanying notes. No strict policy could be adopted in regard to persons on temporary visits to other villages, but as a rule each person is included in the village where he or she stated to be domiciled at the time of the census.

The regional distribution of clans, though disturbed by recent movements and the disbanding of such villages as Elpamachena and Tatigundal, is still noticeable in the village lists, and in the case of large settlements with a mixed population, such as Pulajelma, I have tried with the help of genealogies to trace their changing composition during the last three generations.

The usual seasonal migrations of the individual village-communities are indicated in rough outline, and if a village is regularly visited by Chenchus from the lower ledge or the plains this is also mentioned.

The most important kinship connections of each person figuring in the census are indicated as far as possible, but completeness has not been reached in this respect.

Most Chenchu names have two alternative forms (cf. p. 149), and in the house-lists each individual is returned under that by which he or she is generally known. Thus some women are more frequently referred to as Lingama and others as Lingi, though the full name in both cases is Lingama.

The map referred to is not the sketch-map in this volume, but the Survey of India Map, No. 56 L|SE of 1930.

Irla Penta

Irla Penta is situated on a ridge $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of the Kistna, about 1,743 feet above sea-level. It is divided into two groups of houses lying at a small distance from each other. The first group consists of the houses 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, which are those of the *peddamanchi*, who is of Nimal clan, his mother, his brothers and sisters; the inhabitants of the remaining seven houses are partly his father's brother's children and partly remoter relatives. The Nimal clan is clearly predominant and genealogies show that this has been the case for a considerable time. All householders of other clans are men from other villages married to Irla Penta women.

Although Irla Penta comprises nominally eleven households, there are seldom times when all eleven families stay together in Irla Penta. The population is generally dispersed among its sub-settlements Nardi Penta, Vakarmamidi Penta, Terkaldari, Kampu Vagu, Mudardi Penta and Yemlapaya.

It has been shown in Chapter V (pp. 45-46) how during the hot season, the inhabitants of Irla Penta split into small groups and move to separate temporary settlements. In 1940 the households 1 and 7 moved to Terkaldari and then to Vakarmamidi Penta, households 2, 3, 4 and 5 to Nardi Penta and afterwards to Kampu Vagu, households 6, 8 and 9 to an open camp on the Kistna near Yemlapaya Vagu, household 10 first to Yemlapaya and later to Boramacheruvu, and household 11 spent the whole of the hot season in Boramacheruvu. Yiradu (Nimal) (House 6) has also a house in Mudardi Penta, where he grows maize and millet during the rains, and Gangaru (Nimal) (House 10) has now his permanent house in Yemlapaya and probably will not return to Irla Penta, but for brief visits, particularly since his sister Gengi and her husband Gangaru (Tokal) (Boramacheruvu House 5) have now settled in Yemlapaya. Papama (11), the widow of the elder brother of Gangaru (Nimal) (10), who continued to live in Irla Penta for the first year after her husband's death, followed the custom of her husband's lifetime and took her family to Boramacheruvu for the hot season. She intended to return to Irla Penta at the beginning of the rains, and still affirmed this intention, when I saw her in June, but later she decided to remain permanently in Boramacheruvu. She is recorded in Irla Penta, however, since at the time of the census she gave this as her permanent home.

FIRST SETTLEMENT

House 1. GURUVARU (Nimal), *peddamanchi* of Irla Penta.
wife: Bei (Sigarlu) from Vatellapalli.

1st s. :	<u>PACHIGADU LINGARU</u>	(15 years).
2nd s. :	<u>PEDA BUDIVARU</u>	(12 years).
3rd s. :	<u>YENKATIGARU</u>	(11 years).
1st d. :	<u>Guruvi</u>	(9 years)
2nd d. :	<u>Chitrengi</u>	(4 years)
3rd d. :	<u>Guruvi</u>	(2 years).

House 2. Gengi (Tokal) from Pullaipalli, mother of *peddamanchi* of Irla Penta, sister of *peddamanchi* of Medimankal (Medimankal House 1) half-sister of *peddamanchi* of Pullaipalli (Pullaipalli House 1).

husband: GURUVA (+) (Nimal) of Irla Penta, former *peddamanchi* of Irla Penta.

1st d. : Lingi (House 4).

1st husband: YIDGARU (+) (Tokal) of Medimankal.

2nd husband: LINGARU (Katraj) from Sri Sailam.

1st s. : GURUVARU (House 1).

wife: Bei (Sigarlu) from Vatellapalli.

2nd d. : Lingi (House 5).

husband: LINGARU (Mamedi) from Rampur.

2nd s. : LINGARU (+).

3rd s. : LINGARU (House 3).

wife: Guruvi (Tokal) from Pullaipalli.

House 3. LINGARU (Nimal) of Irla Penta, younger brother of the *peddamanchi* (House 1).

wife: Guruvi (Tokal) from Pulajelma, daughter of Lingi (Pulajelma House 5).

1st d. : Lingi (2 years)

House 4. LINGARU (Katraj) from Sri Sailam.

wife: Lingi (Nimal) elder sister of *peddamanchi* of Irla Penta (House 1).

1st husband: YIDGARU (+) (Tokal)
eldest son of *peddamanchi* of Medimankal.
(Medimankal House 1).

1st d. Bali

husband: LINGARU (Pitavarlu) of Sri
Sailam.

2nd d. Bali

(10 years)

1st s. LINGARU

(5 years)

2nd s. LINGARU

(3 years)

House 5. LINGARU (Mamedi) from Rampur.

wife: Lingi of Irla Penta, sister of *peddamanchi* of Irla Penta (House 1).

1st s. LINGARU

(5 years)

2nd s. LINGARU

(3 years)

1st d. Lingi

(1 year)

SECOND SETTLEMENT

House 6. YIRADU (Nimal) of Irla Penta. Father's elder brother's son of *peddamanchi* of Irla Penta (House 1), brother to BALIGARU (House 7).

wife: Vidarna (Tokal) from Medimankal, daughter of the *peddamanchi* of Medimankal (Medimankal House 1).

1st s. BALIGARU

(15 years)

1st d. Bali

(9 years)

2nd d. Bali

(5 years)

3rd d. Bali

(2 years)

House 7. BALIGARU (Nimal) of Irla Penta, father's elder brother's son of *peddamanchi* of Irla Penta (House 1), brother of YIRADU (House 6).

wife: Guruvi (Tokal) from Boramacheruvu, sister of YIDGARU (Irla Penta House 9).

1st d. Guruvi

(5 years)

2nd d. Lingi

(2 years)

House 8. LINGARU (Nimal) of Irla Penta, brother of Gengi (House 9).
 wife: Lingi (Tokal) from Boramacheruvu, sister of LINGARU
 (Boramacheruvu House 6). Father's sister
 of Guruvi (House 7) and YIDGARU
 (House 9).

1st d.	<u>Yenkati</u>	(8 years)
2nd d.	<u>Guruvi</u>	(6 years)
1st s.	<u>LINGARU</u>	(3 years)

House 9. YIDGARU (Tokal) from Boramacheruvu, father's brother's son's son of
peddamanchi of Boramacheruvu, brother of
 Guruvi (House 7).
 wife: Gengi (Nimal) of Irla Penta, sister of LINGARU (House 8).
 1st s. GURUVARU (3 years)

House 10. GANGARU (Nimal) of Irla Penta, brother of KANARU (House 11).
 1st wife: Yeli (Nallapoteru) from Lingal, sister of 2nd wife.

1st s.	<u>GURUVARU</u>	(+)
2nd s.	<u>LINGARU</u>	(+)
1st d.	<u>Guruvi</u>	(+)
3rd s.	<u>LINGARU</u>	(+)
4th s.	<u>BALTSAMI</u>	(7 years)
5th s.	<u>GURUVARU</u>	(5 years)
6th s.	<u>LINGARU</u>	(1 year)

 2nd wife: Yiri (Nallapoteru) from Lingal, sister of 1st wife
 1st s. LINGARU (8 years)
 2nd s. LINGARU (3 years)

House 11. Papama (Tokal) of Boramacheruvu, sister of *peddamanchi* of Borama-
 cheruvu (Boramacheruvu House 1).
 husband: KANARU (+) (Nimal) of Irla Penta, brother of
GANGARU (House 10).

1st d.	<u>Guruvama</u>	(+)
2nd d.	<u>Guruvama</u>	(+)
1st s.	<u>BALIGARU</u>	(+)
2nd s.	<u>LINGARU</u>	(+)
3rd d.	<u>Lingama</u>	(+)
3rd s.	<u>YENKATAYA</u>	(+)
4th d.	<u>Guruvama</u> (Medimankal House 2). husband: <u>GURUVARU</u> (Tokal) of Medi- mankal.	
5th d.	<u>Irama</u> (Medimankal House 3). husband: <u>LINGARU</u> (Tokal) of Medi- mankal.	
6th d.	<u>Kanama</u> (mature but not yet married)	
7th d.	<u>Yenkatama</u> (9 years)	
8th d.	<u>Lingama</u> (6 years)	

Medimankal

Medimankal lies on a broad ridge stretching from Boramacheruvu to the Kistna River. During the hot weather it is uninhabitable owing to the lack of water and the inhabitants then move to Sangrigundal, a site some three miles south, where each has a well-built house: we may perhaps even speak of a twin-settlement Medimankal-Sangrigundal, for both have the character of permanent villages. There are moreover two subsidiary villages, Lingabore and Pandibore; the *peddamanchi* never stays in Medimankal itself, but spends the hot weather in Sangrigundal, and the rains and the cold weather in Pandibore.

The village community of Medimankal consists now of the households of Gangaru (Tokal), the *peddamanchi*, whose father came from Boramacheruvu (cf. p. 121), his three married sons, his step-son, his sister and her married son. The latter is of Nimal clan, while all other householders are Tokal people. It appears, however, from genealogies that one or two generations ago Medimankal must have been mainly composed of families of Nimal clan. But within the last two generations several Nimal men of Medimankal settled in the villages of their wives, as for instance Lingaru (Appapur House 4), Lingaru (Railet House 11) and Lingaru (Vatellapalli House 3) all of whom have sons, who live now in Appapur, Railet and Vatellapalli respectively.

House 1. GANGARU (Tokal) *peddamanchi* of Medimankal, father's brother's son of *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu (Boramacheruvu House 1).

wife: Guruvi (+) (Nimal) from Irla Penta.

1st s. YIDGARU (+)

wife: Lingi (Nimal) from Irla Penta, daughter of Gengi (Irla Penta House 2).

2nd husband: LINGARU (Katraj) from Sri Sailam (Irla Penta House 4).

2nd s. LINGARU (+)

3rd s. GURUVARU (House 2).

wife: Guruvama (Nimal) from Irla Penta

4th s. YIDGARU (House 4).

wife: Guruvi (Nimal) from Irla Penta

5th s. LINGARU (House 3).

wife: Irama (Nimal) from Irla Penta

1st d. Vidama (Irla Penta House 6).

husband: YIRADU (Nimal) of Irla Penta

6th s. GURUVARU

(12 years)

2nd d. Guruvi

(8 years)

2nd wife: Potama (Kurumulu) from Sri Sailam

1st husband: YIDGARU (+) (Tokal) of Medimankal, father's elder brother of 2nd husband.

1st s. YIDGARU (House 5).

wife: Nagama (Nimal) Medimankal.

House 2. GURUVARU (Tokal) son of *peddamanchi* of Medimankal (House 1).

wife: Guruvama (Nimal) from Irla Penta, daughter of Papama (Irla

Penta House 11), sister of Irama (House 3), brother's daughter of Guruvi (House 4).

1st d. Guruvi (6 years).

2nd d. Guruvi (2 years).

House 3. LINGARU (Tokal) of Medimankal, son of *peddamanchi* of Medimankal (House 1).

wife: Irama (Nimal) from Irla Penta, daughter of Papama (Irla Penta House 11), sister of Guruvama (House 2), brother's daughter of Guruvi (House 4).

1st husband: GANGARU (Tokal) from Borama-cheruvu (Boramacheruvu House 5).

House 4. YIDGARU (Tokal) of Medimankal, son of *peddamanchi* of Medimankal (House 1).

wife: Guruvi (Nimal) from Irla Penta, half-sister of KANARU (Irla Penta House 11), father's sister of Guruvama (House 2) and Irama (House 3).

1st d. Guruvi (1 year).

House 5. YIDGARU (Tokal) from Appapur, step-son of the *peddamanchi* of Medimankal (Medimankal House 1).

wife: Nagama (Nimal) from Medimankal.

1st d. (3 months) (has no name yet).

House 6. Beyama (Tokal) of Medimankal, sister of *peddamanchi* of Medimankal (Medimankal House 1), sister of Vidama (Malapur House 3).

husband: GURUVARU (+) (Nimal) from Irla Penta.

1st s. GURUVARU (House 7).

wife: Yembi (Nimal) of Malapur.¹

2nd husband: LINGARU (Nimal) (+) of Medimankal.

1st d. Lingi (10 years).

House 7. GURUVARU¹ (Nimal) of Irla Penta, sister's son of *peddamanchi* of Medimankal (House 1), son of Beyama (Medimankal House 6).

wife: Yembi (Nimal) from Malapur, daughter of Vidama (Malapur House 3).

1st husband: LINGARU (Tokal) of Pulajelma (Pulajelma House 8).

Boramacheruvu

The composition of Boramacheruvu, marked on the map as Borapurcheruvu, has been discussed in detail in Chapter XII (pp. 98-103) but between the time of the taking of the census and my departure from the plateau, the population of the village changed considerably. Only households 1, 2 and 3 have remained and it seems that the *peddamanchi*, Yidgaru and the sons of his two sisters form the permanent nucleus of the community. Guruvaru (House 4) has since moved to Malapur (cf. p. 105) and Gangaru and Gengi (House 5), went to live in Yemlapaya, where Gengi's brother is settled. Lingaru (House 6), who seldom lives in

1. Endo-clan marriage.

one place for long and stayed with the households 6, 8 and 9 of Irla Penta on the banks of the Kistna during the dry season, did not return to Boramacheruvu this year; during the rains he went to live in Malapur where one of his daughters is married. On the other hand Papama (Irla Penta House 11), the *peddamanchi*'s sister has apparently decided to reside permanently in Boramacheruvu, her home village (cf. p. 103).

Boramacheruvu consists of one settlement some distance away from the tank, where the *peddamanchi* and his group live and a few houses situated immediately above the tank, where Merkal Guruvaru of Appapur (Appapur House 1) spends half the year, and where visitors settle during the mohua season.

Boramacheruvu is definitely a Tokal village, and there are no indications that any other clan ever played a predominant rôle.

House 1. YIDGARU (Tokal) *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu, father's brother's son of *peddamanchi* of Medimankal (Medimankal House 1) father's brother's son of *peddamanchi* of Pullai-palli (Pullai-palli House 1).

wife: Lachi (Nimal) from Malapur, sister of GURUVARU (House 4).

1st s. YIDGARU (12 years)

1st d. Gengi (+)

2nd d. Guruvi (3 years)

3rd d. Lingi (1 year)

House 2. LINGARU (Sigarlu) from Sri Sailam, sister's son of *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu (Boramacheruvu House 1), brother of Lingi (Bikit Penta House 1).

wife: Lingi (Tokal) of Boramacheruvu, daughter of LINGARU (House 6).

1st s. LINGARU (2 years)

House 3. LINGARU (Tokal)¹ of Boramacheruvu, sister's son of *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu (House 1), son of GANGARU (Tokal) (Appapur House 3), unmarried.

House 4. GURUVARU (Nimal) from Malapur, father's brother's son's son of *peddamanchi* of Malapur (Malapur House 1), brother of Lachi (House 1).

wife: Gengi (+) (Tokal) of Boramacheruvu, sister of *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu (House 1).

1st husband: GURUVARU (+) (Nimal) of Irla Penta.

1st d. Guruvi

husband. GURUVARU (Sigarlu) of Sri Sailam.

2nd d. Guruvi (+)

1st d. Guruvi (14 years)

1st s. (+)

2nd s. (+)

3rd s. (+)

1. Offspring of endo-clan marriage.

4th s. (+)
 5th s. (+)
 2nd d. Lachi (4 years)

House 5. GANGARU (Tokal) of Boramacheruvu, elder brother's son of *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu (House 1).

1st wife: Irama (Nimal) of Irla Penta (Medimankal House 3).
 2nd husband: LINGARU (Tokal) of Medimankal.
 2nd wife: Gengi (Nimal) from Irla Penta, half-sister of KANARU (Irla Penta House 11), sister of Guruvi (Medimankal 4).
 1st husband: LINGARU (Pulsaru) of Appapur (+).
 2nd husband: POTERU (Menlur) of Elpamachena (Vatellapalli House 1).
 1st d. Lingi (+).
 2nd d. Anmi (7 years)
 1st s. ANIMIGARU (4 years)

House 6. LINGARU (Tokal) of Boramacheruvu, father's brother's son of *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu (House 1).

wife: Gengi (Nimal) from Irla Penta, sister of GANGARU (Irla Penta House 10), half-sister of Gengi (House 5).
 1st d. Gengi (Malapur House 4).
 husband: YIRADU (Nimal) of Malapur.
 2nd d. Lingi (House 2).
 husband: LINGARU (Sigaru) of Boramacheruvu.
 1st s. LINGARU (12 years)
 2nd s. GANGARU (10 years)
 3rd s. IRRABAYA (7 years)
 4th s. GURUVARU (6 years)
 5th s. YIDGARU (3 years)

Lingi (Nimal) from Medimankal, mother's sister of *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu (House 1), mother of LINGARU.
 husband: GANGARU (+) (Tokal) of Boramacheruvu.

Appapur

Appapur is situated on the edge of a large open clearing and water is available throughout the year, but not in sufficient quantity for cattle. Every year therefore the *peddamanchi* Guruvaru (House 1) moves to Boramacheruvu for the dry season (cf. p. 99), also visiting Sangrigundal. Other households spend the hot weather at Kakar Penta, a site south of Rampur, while Lingama (House 2) stays frequently with her deceased husband's family in Boramacheruvu. But some families, such as Yidgaru's (House 7), remain in Appapur throughout the year.

The majority of the householders are of Tokal clan, and the few who are of other clans are married to Tokal women; genealogies indicate that the Tokal, and to a lesser degree the Nimal clan, have for several generations been predominant in Appapur. The only householder not belonging to the circle of related and intermarrying families, inhabiting the villages Medimankal, Boramacheruvu, Appapur, Pullaipalli and Malapur, is Gangaru (Pulsaru) (House 8), whose father came from south of the Kistna and was for some years *peddamanchi* of Vatellapalli.

House 1. Merkal GURUVARU (Tokal) of Appapur, *peddamanchi* of Appapur, father's brother's son's son of *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu.

1st wife: Lingi (Shivarlu) from Sri Sailam.

2nd husband: MALIGARU (Tokal), from Sri Sailam, father's brother's son of Merkal GURUVARU.

2nd wife: Poti (Pitavaru) from Sri Sailam.

1st husband: LINGARU (Menlur) of Sri Sailam.

1st d. Nagama (mature but not married).

1st s. NAGARU (14 years)

2nd d. Guruvama (12 years)

husband: PAPARU (Sigarlu) from Sri Sailam

2nd s. (+).

3rd d. Vidama (9 years)

3rd s. MALIGARU (6 years)

4th s. MALIGARU (4 years)

4th d. Nagama (2 years)

House 2. Lingama (Sigarlu) from Sri Sailam.

husband: GURUVARU (+) (Tokal) of Boramacheruvu, elder brother of *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu, former *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu.

1st s. (+).

2nd s. LINGARU (+)

wife: Beyama (+) (Kurumuvalu) from Medimankal.

3rd s. GURUVARU (+).

4th s. (+).

5th s. (+).

1st. d. Vidama (Rampur House 3).

husband: GURUVARU (Nimal) of Rampur.

2nd d. Guruvama (Pullaipalli House 3).

1st husband: LINGARU (Nimal) of Vatellapalli, brother of LINGARU (Railet House 11).

2nd husband: BAYERU (Nallapoteru) of Pullaipalli.

3rd d. Gengi. (13 years)

House 3. GANGARU (Tokal) of Appapur, mother's sister's son of *peddamanchi* of Appapur (House 1), half-brother of Guruvama (House 4), brother of YIDGARU (Railet House 5).

1st wife: Guruvama¹ (+) (Tokal) from Boramacheruvu, sister of *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu (Boramacheruvu House 1).

1st s. LINGARU (Boramacheruvu House 3).

1. Endo-cles union.

2nd wife: Vidama (Nimal) from Medimankal, daughter of Guruvama (House 4), sister of YIDGARU (House 5).

1st s. (+).

1st d. Lingama (6 years)

2nd s. BALIGARU (4 years)

3rd s. (+).

2nd d. Guruvama (2 years)

3rd d. (+).

House 4. Guruvama (Tokal) of Appapur, mother's sister's daughter of *pedda-manchi* of Appapur (House 1), half-sister of GANGARU (House 3), half-sister of YIDGARU (Railet House 5).

1st husband: BAYERU (+) (Nallapoteru) from Railet.

2nd husband: YIDGARU (+) (Nimal) of Medimankal.

1st s. YIDGARU (House 5).

wife: Guruvi (Tokal) from Sri Sailam.

1st d. Vidama (House 3).

husband: GANGARU (Tokal) of Appapur

3rd husband: LINGARU (+) (Nimal) from Medimankal.

2nd s. LINGARU (Vatellapalli House 3).

wife: Posi (Sigarlu) of Vatellapalli.

3rd s. LINGARU (18 years)

4th s. LINGARU (15 years)

2nd d. Yembi (10 years)

4th husband: Pedda BAYERU (+) (Nallapoteru) from Railet.

House 5. YIDGARU (Nimal) of Appapur, son of Guruvama (House 4), brother of Vidama (House 3).

wife: Guruvi (Tokal) from Sri Sailam.

1st s. LINGA.

House 6. Vidama (Tokal) from Appapur, mother of Vidama (House 7).

husband: LINGARU (+) (Nimal) from Sri Sailam, lived in Medimankal.

1st s. (+)

1st d. Lingi (House 7).

husband: YIDGARU, (Tokal) of Appapur.

2nd s. LINGARU (+).

wife: Idi (Tokal) of Appapur (+).

2nd d. Idi (Pullaipalli House 1).

husband: GANGARU (Tokal) of Pullaipalli.

House 7. YIDGARU (Tokal) of Appapur, half-brother of *peddamanchi* of Appapur (House 1).

wife: Lingi (Nimal) from Medimankal, daughter of Vidama (House 6).

1st s.	(+).	
2nd s.	<u>YIDGARU</u>	(10 years)
3rd s.	<u>GURUVARU</u>	(8 years)
1st d.	(+).	
2nd d.	<u>Vidama</u>	(3 years)

House 8. GANGARU (Pulsaru) from Peddacheruvu, brother's son of PAPAYA (Sarlappalli House 6).

wife: Vidama (Tokal) of Boramacheruvu, *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu's father's brother's daughter.

1st s.	(+).	
2nd s.	(+).	
3rd s.	<u>LINGARU</u>	(14 years)

PAPARU (Pulsaru) of Sarlapalli, son of PAPAYA (Sarlappalli House 6) (9 years).

House 9. Vidama (Tokal) of Boramacheruvu, sister of *Peddamanchi* of Medimankal (Medimankal House 1).

husband: LINGARU (Pulsaru) (+) from Peddacheruvu, brother of PAPAYA (Sarlappalli House 6). Former *peddamanchi* of Vatellapalli.

1st s.	<u>GANGARU</u> (House 8).	
wife:	Vidama (Tokal) of Boramacheruvu.	

2nd s.	<u>LINGARU</u> (+).	
wife:	Gengi (Nimal) of Irla Penta.	

2nd husband: POTERU (Menlur) of Elpanachena.

3rd husband: GANGARU (Tokal) of Boramacheruvu.

1st. d. Pedda Lingama (+).
2nd d. Chinna Lingama (+).

Rampur

Rampur consists of two settlements, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs apart and separated by a narrow strip of jungle. The larger settlement comprises houses 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, and its inhabitants either come from the plains near Lingal or have close connections with plains villages. The *peddamanchi* is of Balmor clan, which does not occur in any of the villages of the upper plateau except Rampur and Bikit Penta, though it seems to be well established in Marlapaya; the *peddamanchi*'s father now lives in Bikit Penta (House 2), but originally he came from Marlapaya. The households 2 and 3 are those of the *peddamanchi*'s sister and her son and in house 4 lives a man of Katraj clan, whose home-village Dharawaram lies in the plains close to Lingal. He came to live in Rampur on his marriage with a Rampur girl, and his presence

shows, that there is not only emigration from the plateau to the plains, but occasionally individual migrations back to the hills. Gangaru (House 5) comes from the disbanded village of Elpamachena near Sarlapalli.

The second settlement consists of three houses, belonging to two brothers of Nimal clan from Rampur, and a young man of Sigarlu clan from Pulajelma, who has chosen to live there, although he has no relations in Rampur and his wife is from Irla Penta.

Although inhabited by people of various clans, Rampur seems to lie within the domain of the Nimal clan, which alone among the main clans of the upper plateau is today well represented. It seems doubtful, however, whether Rampur is a village community of any considerable age; I am inclined to think, that it was once a site for a summer settlement of the people of Appapur.

In the hot season some of the Rampur people go to Dukkam Penta and Agarla Penta, while others go to Rasul Cheruvu, a site on the fringe of the plains where there is a tank. Sometimes they visit Marlapaya, a Chenchu village near Lingal, whose inhabitants still live in the style of Jungle Chenchus; during the molhua season the people of Marlapaya often come to Rampur.

FIRST SETTLEMENT.

House 1. LINGARU (Balmor) from Marlapaya, *peddamanchi* of Rampur, son of IRAYA (Bikit Penta House 2).

wife: Guruvi (Nimal) from Dharawaram.

1st d.	Lingama	(+)
2nd d.	Lingama	(+)
1st s.	<u>LINGARU</u>	(+)
2nd s.	<u>LINGARU</u>	(+)
3rd s.	<u>LINGARU</u>	(+)
4th s.	<u>LINGARU</u>	(+)
3rd d.	Bali	(12 years)
5th s.	<u>BALIGARU</u>	(9 years)
6th s.	<u>BALIGARU</u>	(7 years)

House 2. Chinta Lingi (Balmor) from Marlapaya, sister of *peddamanchi* of Rampur, daughter of IRAYA (Bikit Penta House 2).

1st husband: Nupul LINGARU (Nimal) (+) from Irla Penta, father's brother of YIRADU (Irla Penta House 6).

1st s. GURUVARU (+).

wife: Yelli (Meripalli) from Lingal.

2nd s. GURUVARU (+)

3rd s. GURUVARU (+)

4th s. GURUVARU (House 3)

wife: Vidama (Tokal) from

Boramacheruvu

2nd husband: Pedda BAYERU (+) (Nimal) from Rampur.

1st wife: Gengi (Tokal) from Appapur (+).

1st d. Yiri (adult but insane).

1st d. Guruvi (10 years)

5th s. BAYERU (8 years)

House 3. GURUVARU (Nimal) of Rampur, son of Chinta Lingi (House 2), sister's son of the *peddamanchi* of Rampur. wife: Vidama (Tokal) from Boramacheruvu, daughter of Lingama (Appapur House 2), sister of Guruvarna (Pullaipalli House 3).

1st d.	Guruvi (+).	
1st s.	<u>GURUVARU</u>	(6 years)
2nd d.	Guruvi	(4 years)
2nd s.	<u>GURUVARU</u>	(1 year)

House 4. YIRADU (Katraj) from Dharawaram.

wife: Bali (Nimal) of Rampur, daughter of Lingi (House 5).

1st d.	Yelli	(8 years)
1st s.	<u>LINGARU</u>	(6 years)
2nd s.	<u>LINGARU</u>	(3 years)

House 5. GANGARU (Menlur) from Elpamachena, brother of POTERU (Vatellapalli House 1).

1st wife: Lingi (Mamedi) of Rampur (+).

2nd wife: Lingi (Mamedi) of Rampur, sister of Lingi, 1st wife.

1st husband: LINGARU (Nimal) (+) of Rampur, brother of BAYERU (+) (House 2).

1st d.	Bali (House 4).	
1st d.	Guruvi	(10 years)
1st s.	<u>LINGARU</u>	(8 years)
2nd d.	Poti	(6 years)

2nd s. LINGARU (4 years)

SECOND SETTLEMENT.

House 6. Pedda PAPARU (Nimal) of Rampur, brother of Chinna PAPARU (House 8).

1st wife: Vidama (Katraj) from (Dharawaram).

1st d.	Lingama	(12 years)
1st s.	<u>LINGARU</u>	(8 years)
2nd s.	<u>LINGARU</u>	(6 years)
3rd s.	<u>LINGARU</u>	(3 years)

2nd d. (+).

2nd wife: Lingi (Katraj) from Dharawaram, sister of Vidama 1st wife.

House 7. BAYERU (Sigarlu) from Pulajelma, father's brother's son of BAYERU (Pulajelma House 11).

wife: Yenkatti (Nimal) from Irla Penta, sister of Gengi (Irla Penta House 9), and LINGARU (Irla Penta House 8).

Twin sons:

1st s.	<u>RAMARU</u>	(5 years)
2nd s.	<u>LACHMARU</u>	(5 years)
1st d.	(+).	
2nd d.	<u>Beyi</u>	(2 years)
3rd s.	<u>YIRADU</u>	(1 year)

House 8. Chinna PAPARU (Nimal) of Rampur, brother of Pedda PAPARU (House 6).

wife: Gengi (Mamedi) of Rampur.

1st d. Lingi.

husband: BALIGARU (Katraj) of Pavampalli.

1st s. LINGARU (12 years)

2nd s. LINGARU (10 years)

2nd d. Lingi (7 years)

Bikit Penta

Bikit Penta is a small village on a ridge some three miles south-west of Rampur. Whether it has existed as a permanent settlement for any length of time appears doubtful; each of the present inhabitants were born in other villages.

Gangaru (Tokal) (House 1) comes from Boramacheruvu; it seems that he left his home-village owing to some quarrel with his relatives. His son is married to the sister of the *peddamanchi* of Rampur, whose father Iraya (Balmor) also lives in Bikit Penta (House 2) although originally both he and his wife came from plains villages. The third householder is a man of Nimal clan of the plains village of Appapalli, who is married to a girl from Rampur and settled in Bikit Penta on his marriage.

It seems very probable that until recently Bikit Penta was used as a site for summer settlements, and that only within the present generation it has become a permanent village. No reference to Bikit Penta appears in any genealogy.

House 1. GANGARU (Tokal) from Boramacheruvu, father's brother's son of *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu.

wife: Potama (+) (Kurumulu) from Sri Sailam.

1st s. GURUVARU.

wife: Lingama (Balmor) from Marlapaya, sister of *peddamanchi* of Rampur (Rampur House 1), daughter of IRAYA (House 2).

1st s. (+).

1st d. Guruvi (6 years)

2nd d. Guruvi (4 years).

1st d. (+).

2nd d. (+).

3rd d. (+).

4th d. (+).

2nd s. GURUVARU (+).

wife: Lingi (Sigarlu) from Sri Sailam, sister of LINGARU (Boramacheruvu House 2).

House 2. IRAYA (Balmor) from Marlapaya, father of *peddamanchi* of Rampur (Rampur House 1), father of Lingama (House 1).

wife: Lingama (Meripalli) from Dharawaram.

1st husband: LINGARU (Nimal) of Appapalli.

1st s. GANGARU (House 3).

wife: Beyama (Sigarlu) of Rampur.

1st d. Lingama (House 1).

husband: GURUVARU (Tokal) of Boramacheruvu.

1st s. LINGARU (Rampur House 1).

wife: Guruvi (Nimal) from Dharawaram.

2nd d. Lingama.

husband: LINGARU (Katraj) of Dharawaram.

House 3. GANGARU (Nimal) from Appapalli, son of Lingama (House 2).

wife: Beyama (Sigarlu) from Rampur.

1st s. GURUVARU (5 years).

1st d. Guruvi. (1 year).

Pullaipalli

Pullaipalli, which lies close to the cart-track leading from Farahabad to Boramacheruvu, was founded by the father of the present *peddamanchi*; he was one of four brothers of Tokal clan, who in their time furnished the *peddamanchi* of Pullaipalli, Appapur, Boramacheruvu, and Medimankal (cf. p. 121). Pullaipalli is thus a creation of the Tokal clan and today it is inhabited by Gangaru the *peddamanchi* and his half-brother Yidgaru. House 3 is inhabited by Pedda Bayeru of Nallapoteru clan, whose father came from Railet and married a girl of Malapur, where he lived till his death. Pedda Bayeru's mother was the sister of the *peddamanchi*'s mother, and he and his brother Chinna Bayeru (House 1) were brought up by the *peddamanchi*'s parents. Chinna Bayeru still lives in the present *peddamanchi*'s house. Pedda Bayeru is married to Guruvama (Tokal) of Boramacheruvu, daughter of Lingama (Appapur House 2) and father's brother's daughter of the *peddamanchi*.

Until recently a fourth family, Guruvaru (Tokal), the son of the *peddamanchi*'s father's younger brother, with his wife Lingi (Sigarlu) from Sarlapalli and his three children lived in Pullaipalli, but they have gone to Kolapur, a plains village near Lingal.

Occasionally in the hot season the people of Pullaipalli go to Agarla Penta and Burj Gundal, and in spring 1940 all but the *peddamanchi* went to do coolie work near Lingal.

House 1. GANGARU (Tokal) of Pullaipalli, *peddamanchi* of Pullaipalli, father's brother's son of *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu, half-brother of Poli and Yidi (Railet House 1), half-brother of Gengi (Irla Penta House 2), half-brother of Vidama (Malapur House 1), half-brother of YIDGARU (Pulajelma House 9).

wife: Idi (Nimal) from Appapur, daughter of Vidama (Appapur House 6).

1st d. Lingi (Malapur House 1).

husband: LINGARU (Nimal) of Malapur.

1st s. (+).

2nd s. (+).

2nd d. (+).

3rd d. (+).

4th d. Bali (4 years)

5th d. Bali (6 months)

Chinna BAYERU (Nallapoteru) from Railet (adult) *peddamanchi*'s mother's sister's son, brother of *Pedda BAYERU* (House 3).

House 2. LINGARU (Tokal) of Pullaipalli, half-brother of *peddamanchi* of Pullaipalli, brother of Lingi (Pulajelma House 10).

wife: Bei (Sigarlu) from Malapur.

1st d. Guruvi (4 years)

1st s. YIDGARU (1 year)

House 3. Pedda BAYERU (Nallapoteru) from Railet, *peddamanchi*'s mother's sister's son, brother of Chinna BAYERU (House 1), father's brother's son of Beyama (Railet House 2), father's brother's son of LINGARU (Railet House 3).

wife: Guruvama (Tokal) from Boramacheruvu, daughter of Lingama (Appapur House 2), sister of Vidama (Rampur House 3).

1st husband: LINGARU (+) (Nimal) of Medimankal, brother of LINGARU (Railet House 11).

1st d. Idi (adult, but lives in parent's house).

husband: Nulla BAYERU (Sigarlu) from Pulajelma (Pulajelma House 10).

1st s. (+).

1st d. Lingi (3 years)

2nd d. Chinna Lingi (1 year)

Malapur

Malapur lies on the edge of a large open clearing, where there is a small pond during the rains. It is an old settlement and for a long time it has been a strong-hold of the Nimal clan. Tradition tells that when the first Tokal man immigrated from south of the Kistna, he married two Nimal girls of Malapur and all Tokal people on this side of the River are their descendants. Today the population which consists of the *peddamanchi* and his close relations is mostly of Nimal clan; the only outsider being Lachungaru (Menlur), the *peddamanchi*'s son-in-law, who came from the disbanded village of Elpamachena.

In May 1940 Guruvaru (Nimal), (Boramacheruvu House 4), the *peddamanchi*'s father's brother's son's son, who had lived for about fifteen years in Boramacheruvu, returned with his children to Malapur, where he built a house. Lingaru (Tokal) (Boramacheruvu House 6), the father of Gengi (House 4) occasionally spends the rains in Malapur and stays in a temporary hut.

Two generations ago two Sigarlu men from Sarlapalli married girls of Malapur and came to live in their village. Consequently there were two families of Sigarlu clan in Malapur, but they have since moved to Pulajelma. This explains why in the house lists several Sigarlu people are recorded as coming from Malapur.

During the hot weather the Malapur people move to a site in the jungle between Malapur and Pullaipalli, at some distance from the falls of Buga Vagu where there is perennial water. They say that formerly they used to go to Jalal Penta and Piman Penta for the dry season.

House 1. LINGARU (Nimal) of Malapur, *peddamanchi* of Malapur.

wife: Vidama (Tokal) from Pullaipalli, half-sister of *peddamanchi* of

Pullaipalli (Pullaipalli House 1), sister of Gengi (Irla Penta 2).

1st s. LINGARU.

wife: Lingi (Tokal) from Pullaipalli, daughter of *peddamanchi* of Pullaipalli (Pullaipalli House 1).

1st d. Lingi (1 year)

2nd d. Lingi (House 2).

husband: LACHUNGARU (Menlur) of Elpamachena.

3rd d. Lingi (10 years)

House 2. LACHUNGARU (Menlur) from Elpamachena.

wife: Lingi (Nimal) of Malapur, daughter of *peddamanchi* of

Malapur (House 1).

1st s. ANIMIGARU (6 years)

1st d. Lingi (3 years)

House 3. Vidama (Tokal) from Boramacheruvu,¹ sister of *peddamanchi* of Medimankal (Medimankal House 1), sister of Beyama (Medimankal House 6).

husband: LINGARU (Nimal) of Malapur, father's brother's son's son of the *peddamanchi* of Malapur (Malapur House 1), brother of GURUVARU (Boramacheruvu House 4).

1st s. YIRADU (House 4).

wife: Gengi (Tokal) from Boramacheruvu.

2nd s. LACHUNGARU.

wife: Vidama (Tokal) from Boramacheruvu, brother's son's daughter of *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu, granddaughter of Lingama (Appapur House 2).

1st d. Yidi (1 year).

1st d. Yembi (Medimankal House 7).

1st husband: LINGARU (Tokal) of Pulajelma (Pulajelma House 8).

2nd husband: GURUVARU (Nimal) of Irla Penta² son of Beyama (Medimankal House 6).

1. Vidama considers her home-village Boramacheruvu, though her father left Boramacheruvu and became *peddamanchi* of Medimankal, where Vidama's brother and sister are still living.

2. Endo-clan marriage.

2nd d.	<u>Vidama</u>	(12 years)
3rd d.	<u>Gengi</u>	(10 years)
3rd s.	<u>LINGARU</u>	(8 years)

House 4. YIRADU (Nimal) of Malapur, father's brother's son's son of *peddamanchi* of Malapur (House 1), son of Vidama (House 3), brother of Yembi (Medimankal House 7). wife: Gengi (Tokal) from Boramacheruvu, daughter of LINGARU (Boramacheruvu House 6), sister of Lingi (Boramacheruvu House 2).

1st d. Lingi (2 months).

Pulajelma

Pulajelma, marked on the map as Farahabad, is a village at a distance of less than a mile from the Farahabad Forest Inspection Bungalow and it is therefore the village that is most frequently visited by officials. It has been explained in Chapter XII (p. 105) that Pulajelma was until two generations ago mainly inhabited by people of Eravalu clan, that then a family of Menlur people immigrated from Gottipalli and intermarried with the Eravalu people. Finally Tokal and Sigarlu people came to settle in Pulajelma, which has thus a very mixed population.

The *peddamanchi*, whose parents settled in Pulajelma when he was a small boy, is of Menlur clan, and his brother (House 7) and four of his sisters, (Houses 2, 3, 5 and 9) as well as his half-brother Guruvaru (House 5), all live in Pulajelma. Two of the *peddamanchi*'s sisters have married sons, who also live in Pulajelma (Houses 8, 10 and 12). Thus most of the villagers are blood-relations of the *peddamanchi*. The only adult male member of the Eravalu clan is Lingaru (House 6), the brother of the *peddamanchi*'s wife.

Bayeru (Sigarlu) (House 11), whose parents lived in Malapur, although his father's original home-village was Sarlapalli, came to Pulajelma when he married a girl of Eravalu clan and one year ago his father's brother's son Lingaru (Sigarlu) (House 10) who until then had lived in Malapur, also settled in Pulajelma. Since Lingaru (Sigarlu) has a grown up son, there are now three households of Sigarlu people in Pulajelma.

Ultimately there are three Tokal households; this is due to the fact that three of the *peddamanchi*'s sisters married Tokal men of Pullaipalli. The husband of the youngest sister Bei is still alive (House 9) but the other two are widows with grown up and married sons (Houses 4 and 8).

It is usual for the people of Pulajelma to stay in their village throughout the year; only now and then some individuals go to Rasul Cheruvu for a few days. The possibility of finding occasional employment with visitors to the Farahabad Bungalow or forest contractors, who work on the plateau at this season curbs their nomadic instincts.

House 1. LINGARU (Menlur) *peddamanchi* of Pulajelma, originally from Gottipalli.

1st wife: Papi (+) (Sigarlu) from Kurnool.

2nd wife: Lingi (Eravalu) of Pulajelma, sister of LINGARU (House 6).

1st d. Bei (5 years)

2nd d. Bei (3 years)

House 2. Gengi (Menlur) of Pulajelma, sister of *peddamanchi* of Pulajelma (House 1).

husband: POTERU (+) (Eralavalu) of Pulajelma.

1st d. (+)

2nd d. (+)

3rd d. (+)

4th d. (+)

5th d. (+)

6th d. (+)

7th d. (+)

8th d. Gengi (House 7).

husband: LINGARU (Menlur) of Pulajelma.

9th d. Papi (Railet House 1).

husband: GURUVARU (Urtalu) of Railet.

House 3. Malli (Menlur) of Pulajelma, sister of *peddamanchi* of Pulajelma (House 1).

husband: GURUVARU (+) (Tokal) from Pullaipalli, brother of GANGARU (Pullaipalli House 1), half-brother of YIDGARU (House 9).

1st d. Lingi (Railet House 10).

husband: ANKARU (Sigarlu) from Vatellapalli.

1st s. GURUVARU (+).

wife: Lingi (Sigarlu) of Malapur.

2nd husband: Poti LINGARU (Tokal) of Pulajelma (House 4).

2nd s. Poti LINGARU (House 4).

wife: Lingi (Sigarlu) of Malapur.

1st husband: GURUVARU (Tokal) of Pulajelma.

2nd d. Poli (House 11).

husband: BAYERU (Sigarlu) of Malapur.

3rd s. GURUVARU (12 years).

3rd d. Poti (10 years)

GURUVARU'S 2nd wife: Lingi (Menlur) of Pulajelma (House 5), sister of Malli, 1st wife.

House 4. Poti LINGARU (Tokal) of Pullaipalli, *peddamanchi's* sister's son of Malli (House 3), brother of Poli (House 11).

wife: Lingi (Sigarlu) of Malapur, daughter of LINGARU (House 10).

1st husband: GURUVARU (Tokal) of Pulajelma (+), brother of 2nd husband.

1st d. Vuli (2 years)

House 5. Lingi (Menlur) of Pulajelma, sister of *peddamanchi* of Pulajelma.
 husband: GURUVARU (+) (Tokal) of Pullaipalli, brother of GANGARU (Pullaipalli House 1), half-brother of YIDGARU (House 9).
 1st wife: Malli (Menlur) of Pulajelma, sister of Lingi (House 3).
 1st s. GURUVARU (House 8).
 1st wife: Yembi (Nimal) of Malapur.
 2nd husband: GURUVARU (Nimal) of Irla Penta (Medimankal House 7).
 2nd wife: Gengi (Sigarlu) of Malapur.
 1st husband: LINGARU (Eravalu) of Pulajelma (+).
 1st d. Gengi (Vatellapalli House 2).
 husband: YELLERU (Sigarlu) of Vatellapalli.
 2nd d. Guruvi (Irla Penta House 3).
 husband: LINGARU (Nimal) of Irla Penta.
 2nd s. MALIGARU (14 years)
 3rd s. GANGARU (10 years)
 4th s. LINGARU (8 years)
GURUVARU (Menlur) of Pulajelma, half-brother of *peddamanchi* of Pulajelma, half-brother of Lingi, unmarried (lame).

House 6. LINGARU (Eravalu) of Pulajelma, brother of *peddamanchi*'s wife (House 1), brother of Lingi (House 11).
 wife: Yembi (Sigarlu) from Malapur.
Puli (Daserolu) from Koman Penta, mother of LINGARU.

House 7. LINGARU (Menlur) of Pulajelma, brother of *peddamanchi* of Pulajelma (House 1).
 wife: Gengi (Eravalu) of Pulajelma, daughter of Gengi (House 2), sister's daughter of the *peddamanchi* (House 1).
 1st d. (+).
 1st s. LINGARU (1 year)

House 8. GURUVARU (Tokal) of Pullaipalli, sister's son of *peddamanchi* of Pulajelma, (House 1), son of Lingi (House 5), sister of Gengi (Vatellapalli House 2), sister of Guruvi (Irla Penta House 3).
 1st wife: Yembi (Nimal) from Malapur.
 2nd husband: GURUVARU (Nimal) (Irla Penta House 7).
 2nd wife: Gengi (Sigarlu) from Malapur.
 1st husband: LINGARU (Eravalu) (+) of Pulajelma, *peddamanchi*'s wife's father's brother.
 1st s. POTERU (6 years)
 2nd s. LINGARU (4 years)
 1st s. LINGARU (1 month).

House 9. YIDGARU (Tokal) from Pullaipalli, half-brother of GANGARU (Pullaipalli House 1), half-brother of Lingi (House 10).

wife: Bei (Menlur) of Pulajelma, sister of *peddamanchi* of Pulajelma (House 1).

1st s.	<u>GURUVARU</u>	(6 years)
2nd s.	<u>YIDGARU</u>	(5 years)
3rd s.	<u>GANGARU</u>	(3 years)
1st d.	(+).	
4th s.	<u>LINGARU</u>	(1 month)

House 10. LINGARU (Sigarlu) from Malapur, originally from Sarlapalli, father's brother's son of BAYERU (House 11).

1st wife: Vidama (+) (Eralalu) of Pulajelma.

1st s. IRRABAYERU (House 12).

wife: Poli (Tokal) of Pulajelma.

2nd wife: Lingi (Tokal) from Pullaipalli, half-sister of YIDGARU (House 9), half-sister of GANGARU (Pullaipalli House 1), sister of LINGARU (Pullaipalli House 2).

1st husband: LINGARU (Sigarlu) from Vatellapalli.

1st s. YELLERU (Railet House 6).

wife: Idi (Nallapoteru) from Pullaipalli:

1st d. Yellama (Railet House 7).

husband: YIDGARU (Tokal) of Ap-papur.

2nd d. Lingi (House 4).

1st husband: GURUVARU (+) (Tokal) of Pulajelma.

2nd husband: Poti LINGARU (Tokal) of Pulajelma.

1st s. Chinna BAYERU (Railet House 4).

wife: Yidi (Menlur) from Vatellapalli.

2nd s. Nulla BAYERU.

wife: Idi (Nallapoteru) from Pullaipalli: not yet mature, lives in mother's house (Pullaipalli House 3).

1st d. Chinna Beyama (adult)

3rd s. Chintaginga BAYERU (13 years)

4th s. GANGARU (7 years)

House 11. BAYERU (Sigarlu) from Malapur, originally from Sarlapalli, father's brother's son of LINGARU (House 10), brother of Beyama (House 13), father's brother of BAYERU (Rampur House 7).

wife: Lingi (Eravalu) of Pulajelma, sister of LINGARU (House 6),
sister of *peddamanchi*'s wife (House 1).

1st s. BAYERU (3 years)
1st d. Bei (2 years).

House 12. IRRABAYERU (Sigarlu) from Malapur, son of LINGARU (House 10).

wife: Poli (Tokal) of Pullaipalli, daughter of Malli (House 3), sister's son of *peddamanchi* of Pulajelma (House 1), sister of Poti LINGARU (House 4).

1st d. Bei (2 years).

House 13. Beyama (Sigarlu) of Sarlapalli, sister of BAYERU (House 11), father's brother's daughter of LINGARU (House 10).

1st husband: LINGARU (+) (Eravalu) of Pulajelma.

1st s. (+)
1st d. (+)
2nd d. (+)
3rd d. (+)

2nd husband: Kada BAYERU (+) (Nallapoteru) from Sarlapalli, brother of IRAYA (Sarlapalli House 7).

1st d. Lingi.

husband: SHENERU (+) (Sigarlu) from Vatellapalli.

Railet Banda

Railet Banda, or Railet as it is usually called, is a village some three miles north-west of Vatellapalli, and not far from the deserted site of Baureddipalli. It is not marked on the Survey of India map (No. 56 L/SE) of 1930, and the Chenchus agree, that it is a comparatively new settlement, mainly consisting of families who used to live at Baureddipalli. Why the good site of Baureddipalli, which has a well with perennial water, was deserted is not quite clear.

The present *peddamanchi* is of Urtalu clan, but he is the only householder of this clan and has few relatives in the village. The Urtalu clan is well represented, however, among the village Chenchus of the settlements near Mananur and since Railet lies on the edge of the plateau it is not improbable that the *peddamanchi*'s family came from one of those settlements. This seems all the more likely as there are two men of Nallapoteru clan in Railet (Houses 3 and 8), whose grandfather also immigrated from a village on the lower ledge,—namely Padra.

The four households of Sigarlu men (Houses 2, 6, 10 and 11) have all close connections with Vatellapalli and Sarlapalli, as well as with the four Sigarlu families in Pulajelma who, although they settled for a time in Malapur, came originally from Sarlapalli. It is indeed possible that most of the inhabitants of the old settlement of Baureddipalli were of Sigarlu clan, for it seems that Railet belongs essentially to the Sigarlu-Menlur area.

Both the householders of Tokal clan (Houses 5 and 7) came from Appapur, where they were born and have relations. Yidgaru (House 5) settled in Railet where his wife grew up and although Yidgaru's (House 7) parents-in-law now live in Pulajelma his brother-in-law still lives in Railet (House 6).

The Railet people do not leave their village in the hot season, but are visited by many families of Vatellapalli. At least as far as the Sigarlu families are concerned it almost appears that Vatellapalli and Railet are only alternative sites of the same village-community. This may explain how it is that Ankaru (House 10), the son of Vore Lingaru, of Vatellapalli lives now in Railet, although his wife is not from Railet but from Pulajelma.

House 1. GURUVARU (Urtalu) of Railet, *peddamanchi* of Railet.

1st wife: Poli (+) (Tokal) from Pullaipalli, half-sister of the *peddamanchi* of Pullaipalli (Pullaipalli House 1).

2nd wife: Yidi (Tokal) from Pullaipalli, half-sister of the *peddamanchi* of Pullaipalli (Pullaipalli House 1), sister of Poli, 1st wife of GURUVARU.

1st s. GURUVARU

wife: Papi (Tokal) from Pulajelma, daughter of Gengi (Pulajelma House 2).

2nd s. GURUVARU (15 years).

House 2. Boda YELLERU (Sigarlu) from Vatellapalli, brother's son's son of *peddamanchi* of Vatellapalli (Vatellapalli House 1).

wife: Beyi (Nallapoteru) of Railet, sister of LINGARU (House 3), father's brother's daughter of BAYERU (Pullaipalli House 3).

1st s. YELLERU (8 years)

1st d. Yelli (4 years)

2nd s. (+)

2nd d. Yenki (2 years)

House 3. LINGARU (Nallapoteru) of Railet, brother of Beyi (House 2), father's brother's son of BAYERU (Pullaipalli House 3).

wife: Yelli (Sigarlu) from Timmaredidipalli, sister of LINGARU (Timmaredidipalli House 1).

1st s. (+).

2nd s. MALIGARU (3 years)

1st d.(no name) (1 month)

House 4. Lingi (Sigarlu) from Malapur, sister of LINGARU (Pulajelma House 10).

husband: LINGARU (Menlur) (+) from Vatellapalli, father came from Garna Penta.

1st s. (+)

1st d. Yidi

husband: Chinna BAYERU (Sigarlu) from Pulajelma, son of LINGARU (Pulajelma House 10).

2nd d. (+)

3rd d. Yidi

(10 years)

2nd s.	<u>LINGARU</u>	(9 years)
3rd s.	<u>YIDGARU</u>	(8 years)
4th d.	<u>Lingi</u>	(6 years)

House 5. YIDGARU (Tokal) from Appapur, brother of GANGARU (Appapur House 3), half-brother of Guruvama (Appapur House 4). wife: Lingi (Nimal) from Medimankal, daughter of LINGARU (House 11), sister of Yidi (House 6).

1st s.	(+)	
2nd s.	<u>YIDGARU</u>	(4 years)
3rd s.	<u>LINGARU</u>	(2 years)
1st d.	<u>Yidi</u>	(9 months)

House 6. YELLERU (Sigarlu) from Malapur, step-son of LINGARU (Pulajelma House 10), brother of Yelli (House 7).

wife: Yidi (Nimal) from Medimankal, daughter of LINGARU (House 11), sister of Lingi (House 5).

1st s.	<u>LINGARU</u>	(3 years)
2nd s.	(+)	
1st d.	<u>Lingi</u>	(6 months)

House 7. YIDGARU (Tokal) from Appapur, father's brother's son of GURUVARU (Appapur House 1), brother of Guruvi (Timmaredipalli House 1).

wife: Yelli (Sigarlu) from Malapur, step-daughter of LINGARU (Pulajelma House 10), sister of YELLERU (House 6).

1st d.	<u>Vidama</u> (+)	
2nd d.	<u>Pedi</u>	(4 years)
3rd d.	<u>Pedi</u>	(2 years)

House 8. BUCHIGARU (Nallapoteru) of Railet, brother of LINGARU (House 3), father's brother's son of BAYERU (Pullaipalli House 3), brother of Bei (House 2).

wife: Yenki (Sigarlu) from Vatellapalli.

1st d.	<u>Lingi</u> (+)	
2nd d.	<u>Bei</u> (+)	
3rd d.	<u>Yenki</u>	(6 years)
4th d.	<u>Bei</u>	(4 years)
5th d.	<u>Lingi</u>	(year)

House 9. Poti (Eravalu) from Pulajelma.

husband: YELLERU (+) (Sigarlu) from Vatellapalli, brother's son of *peddamanchi* of Vatellapalli.

1st d.	<u>Yelli</u>	(10 years)
2nd d.	<u>Lingi</u>	(6 years)

House 10. ANKARU (Sigarlu) from Vatellapalli, father's brother's son's son of *peddamanchi* of Vatellapalli.

wife: Lingi (Tokal) from Pulajelma, daughter of Malli (House 3).

1st s. (+).

2nd s. LINGARU (3 years)

1st d. Yelli (10 months)

House 11. Posi (Sigarlu) of Vatellapalli, sister of Vore LINGARU (Vatellapalli House 5).

husband: LINGARU (+) (Nimal) from Medimankal,

1st s. YIDGARU (Vatellapalli House 7).

wife: Posi (Sigarlu) from Vatellapalli.

2nd s. LINGARU (Vatellapalli House 8).

wife: Buchi (Sigarlu) from Vatellapalli.

1st d. Lingi (House 5).

husband: YIDGARU (Tokal) from Appapur.

2nd d. Yidi (House 6).

husband: YELLERU (Sigarlu) from Malapur.

3rd d. Lingi (Vatellapalli House 6).

husband: LINGARU (Sigarlu) from Vatellapalli.

3rd s. LINGARU (12 years)

Vatellapalli

Vatellapalli, which is spelt Vativellapalli on the map, lies midway between the deserted site of Baureddipalli and Sarlapalli; besides eight households of Chenchus, there are also a few Waddars and Madigas, who were settled in Vatellapalli by the Forest Department. The Chenchus say that until three generations ago there was no village at Vatellapalli, but that it was founded by men of Sarlapalli (cf. p. 258).

At present the Chenchu households consist of Sigarlu and Nimal families and since the Nimal people can all be traced to one marriage with Medimankal, Vatellapalli must once have been inhabited solely by members of the Sigarlu clan. The five Sigarlu households, (Houses 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6) are those of the *peddamanchi* and his son, and of the children of his brothers and their children. The *peddamanchi*'s daughter is married to Lingaru (Nimal House 3) from Medimankal, thus accounting for one Nimal household. The two remaining Nimal households (Houses 7 and 8) are due to the marriage of another Sigarlu woman of Vatellapalli: Posi, the sister of Vore Lingaru (House 5), married a Nimal man of Medimankal, who came to live in his wife's village; later they moved to Railet, where his widow still lives (Railet House 11), but two sons have married girls of Vatellapalli and have settled there.

In the *peddamanchi*'s house there lives Poteru (Menlur) from the deserted village of Elparamachena, the husband of the *peddamanchi*'s deceased daughter, and their daughter Yelli; in May 1940 Poteru brought also his children by his second wife (cf. p. 257) to Vatellapalli.

During the driest months of the hot season there is a scarcity of water in Vatellapalli, and consequently most of the people go to Railet at that time of the year.

House 1. Nalla LINGARU (Sigarlu) of Vatellapalli, *peddamanchi* of Vatellapalli.

wife: Guruvi (Eravalu) from Pulajelma.

1st d. Lingi (+).

husband: POTERU (Menlur) from Elpamachena.

1st d. (+).

2nd d. Yelli (12 years)

2nd wife: Gengi (Tokal) of Irla Penta (Boramacheruvu House 5).

1st husband: LINGARU (+) (Pulsaru) from Appapur.

2nd husband: GANGARU (Tokal) of Boramacheruvu.

1st s. YELLERU (House 2).

wife: Gengi (Tokal) from Pulajelma.

2nd d. Posi (House 3).

husband: LINGARU (Nimal) from Appapur.

House 2. YELLERU (Sigarlu) of Vatellapalli, son of *peddamanchi*.

wife: Gengi (Tokal) from Pulajelma, daughter of Lingi (House 5), sister of Guruvi (Irla Penta House 3), sister of GURUVARU (House 8).

House 3. LINGARU (Nimal) from Medimankal, son of Guruvama (Appapur House 4) half-sister of Vidama (Appapur House 3).

wife: Posi (Sigarlu) of Vatellapalli, daughter of *peddamanchi* of Vatellapalli.

1st d. Lingi (Timmareddipalli House 3).

husband: LINGARU (Sigarlu) from Timmareddipalli.

2nd d. (+).

1st s. LINGARU (+)

2nd s. LINGARU (+)

3rd d. Lingi (6 years)

4th d. Lingi (4 years)

House 4. YELLERU (Sigarlu) of Vatellapalli, brother's son of *peddamanchi* of Vatellapalli. (Vatellapalli House 1).

1st wife: Guruvi (+) (Menlur) from Sarlapalli.

1st d. (+)

1st s. (+)

2nd s. (+)

2nd d. Papi (+)

3rd d. Yenki

husband: GANGARU (Daunsen-Menlur) of Sri Sailam.

2nd wife: Papi (Menlur) from Chitlamgunta.

1st husband: GURUVARU (+) (Sigarlu) of Patur Bayal.

1st s. LINGARU (6 years)

1st d. Papi (4 years)

House 5. Vore LINGARU (Sigarlu) of Vatellapalli, *peddamanchi*'s brother's son, father's brother's son's son of LINGARU (Sarlapalli House 4).

wife: Lingi (Menlur) from Elpamachena.

1st s. ANKARU (Railet House 10).
 wife: Lingi (Tokal) from Pulajelma.

1st d. Buchi (House 8).
 husband: LINGARU (Nimal) from Medi-mankal.

2nd d. Gengi (Sarlapalli House 9).
 husband: LINGARU (Nallapoteru) from Sarlapalli.

3rd d. Lingi (Koman Penta House 7).
 husband: YIRADU (Daunsen-Menlur) from Koman Penta.

4th d. (+)

5th d. (+)

2nd s. (+)

3rd s. YELLERU (12 years)

House 6. Nulla YELLERU (Sigarlu) brother's son's son of *peddamanchi* of Vatellapalli, brother of YELLERU (Railet House 2).
 wife: Lingi (Menlur) from Elpamachena.

1st s. LINGARU.
 wife: Lingi (Nimal) from Medimankal, daughter of LINGARU (Railet House 11), sister of YIDGARU (House 7).

1st d. (+)

2nd s. (+)

2nd d. Anki (10 years)

House 7. YIDGARU (Nimal) from Medimankal, brother's daughter's son of *peddamanchi* of Vatellapalli, son of LINGARU (Railet House 11), brother of Lingi (House 6), brother of LINGARU (House 8).
 wife: Posi (Sigarlu) of Vatellapalli, brother's son's daughter of *peddamanchi* of Vatellapalli.

1st s. LINGARU (3 years)

1st d. Ambi (2 years)

House 8. LINGARU (Nimal) from Medimankal, son of LINGARU (Railet House 11), brother of Lingi (House 6), brother of YIDGARU (House 7).
 wife: Buchi (Sigarlu) of Vatellapalli, daughter of Vorc LINGARU (House 5).

1st s. AMBIGARU (1 year)

Sarlapalli

According to local tradition, Sarlapalli is an older settlement than Vatellapalli, and many of the families of Sigarlu clan of Vatellapalli are said to have come originally from Sarlapalli. At present Sarlapalli is divided into three separate settlements:

The first settlement consists of the *peddamanchi*, who is of Sigarlu clan, his

brother's son (House 2), the latter's son (House 3), the *peddamanchi*'s father's brother's son Lingaru (House 4), who lived for most of his life in Vatellapalli, and finally the husband of the *peddamanchi*'s wife's daughter from a first marriage. Lingaru (House 4) says that his grandfather went from Sarlapalli to Vatellapalli, when that village was founded (cf. p. 258).

The second settlement consists mainly of the households of three brothers of Nallapoteru clan (Houses 8, 9, 10) and that of their sister (House 11), who is married to the father's brother's son of the *peddamanchi*. Their mother is still alive and lives in a separate house (House 7) with a child of her second husband Papaya (Pulsaru) who died in April 1940. Papaya's first wife Lachama inhabits another house (House 6) in the second settlement.

The third settlement comprises only two houses, which are both inhabited by men of Sigarlu clan; these have no close blood-relations in the first settlement.

It will be seen that many Sarlapalli people are married to men and women from the disbanded village Elparnachena, which lies to the east of Sarlapalli, where the Menlur clan was predominant. Others have found their marriage-partners in Tatigundal, and such villages of the lower ledge east of Anrabad (cf. p. 432) as Upnotla, Chitlamgunta, and Maradugu. Moreover there have also been some marriages between people of Sarlapalli and Chenchus of villages south of the Kistna. Intermarriage with the villages of the Nimal-Tokal area (Medimankal, Boramacheruvu, Pullaipalli, etc.), on the other hand, hardly occurs, the only two exceptions being the marriage of the *peddamanchi* with a Tokal girl of Pullaipalli, and that of Lingaru (Nallapoteru House 10) with a Nimal girl of Malapur.

At first sight, it may appear that the principle of village-exogamy is not followed as strictly in Sarlapalli as in other settlements, for in several marriages both partners come from families domiciled in Sarlapalli. Most of these marriages are between people of Sigarlu and Nallapoteru clan, and the most evident explanation is, that all Nallapoteru people are descended from a man, who settled in Sarlapalli only two or three generations ago and are therefore considered outsiders for purposes of marriage. It is not improbable, that the Nallapoteru people are descendants of the same emigrant from Padra whose other grandchildren live in Railet and Pullaipalli.

Nowadays the people of Sarlapalli live in their village throughout the year, but they say, that in former times they used to move with their cattle to Bhavi Penta, Naradi Penta, Patasi Penta, and Ullokatrevu Penta; the latter is on the banks of the Kistna. All these Pentas lie within Sarlapalli-Vatellapalli land, which seems to consist of one tract with no boundary between the two villages. Patur Bayal lying about a mile south of Sarlapalli is evidently only a sub-settlement of Sarlapalli.

During the mohua season considerable numbers of Chenchus from Upnotla, Tirmalapur, Maradugu and other villages east of Amrabad come to stay in Sarlapalli with their relations and friends for a few days or even weeks. Many of them came originally from Elpaniachena and Tatigundal; these two villages were deserted some years ago after an epidemic, which claimed the major part of the population.

FIRST SETTLEMENT.

House 1. LINGARU (Sigarlu) of Sarlapalli, *peddamanchi* of Sarlapalli, father's brother's son of *peddamanchi* of Vatellapalli, brother of Papi (Koman Penta 1).

wife: Guruvi (+) (Tokal) from Pullaipalli, half-sister of *peddamanchi* of Pullaipalli.

1st d. Bei (House 10).

husband: LINGARU (Nallapoteru) of Sarlapalli.

1st s. (+).

2nd s. (+).

3rd s. LINGARU (12 years)

4th s. ANIMIGARU (10 years)

lives with father's sister in Kurnool.

2nd wife: Lachi (+) (Menlur) from Upnotla.

1st s. (+).

1st d. (+).

3rd wife: Lingi (Nallapoteru) from Vatellapalli.

1st husband: LINGARU (+) (Sigarlu) of Sarlapalli.

1st d. Bichi (House 5).

husband: PEDIGARU (Menlur) from Elpamachena.

2nd d. Muti (14 years)

3rd d. Lingi (9 years)

House 2. LACHUNGARU (Sigarlu) from Timmaredipalli, *peddamanchi's* brother's son.

1st wife: Nagi (Menlur) from Tatigundal.

1st s. YIDGARU (House 3).

wife: Muti (Menlur) from Elpamachena.

2nd wife: Muti (Menlur) from Sarlapalli.

1st s. LINGARU (12 years)

1st d. Lingi (9 years)

2nd d. Yelli (8 years)

3rd d. Yelli (5 years)

House 3. YIDGARU (Sigarlu) from Timmaredipalli, *peddamanchi's* brother's son's son, son of LACHUNGARU (House 2).

wife: Muti (Menlur) from Elpamachena.

1st s. LINGARU (1 month)

House 4. LINGARU (Sigarlu) from Vatellapalli, *peddamanchi's* father's brother's son.

wife: Lingi (+) (Menlur) from Elpamachena.

1st s. LINGARU (Patur Bayal House 2).

1st wife: Lingi (+) (Menlur) from Elpamachena.

2nd wife: Lachi (+) (Menlur) from Upnotla.

1st d. Lingi (Patur Bayal House 1).

1st husband: LINGARU (1) (Menlur) from Sarlapalli.

2nd husband: LINGARU (+) (Sigarlu)¹ from Timmaredipalli.

3rd husband: LINGARU (+) (Menlur) from Sarlapalli.

2nd wife: Muti (+) (Nallapoteru) from Chitlamgunta.

1st s. (+).

2nd s. (+).

1st d. (+).

3rd wife: Lingi (+) (Menlur) from Maradugu.

4th wife: Poti (Menlur) from Maradugu, sister of Lingi, LINGARU's third wife.

1st s. YELLERU (+).

House 5. PEDIGARU (Menlur) from Elpamachena.

wife: Bichi (Sigarlu) of Sarlapalli, step-daughter of *peddamanchi*.

SECOND SETTLEMENT.

House 6. Lachama (Menlur) of Elpamachena.

husband: PAPAYA (+) (Pulsaru) from Peddacheruvu, Kurnool.

2nd wife: Lingama (Menlur) of Sri Sailam (Timmaredipalli House 2).

1st husband: LINGARU (+) (Sigarlu) of Timmaredipalli.

3rd wife: Vidama (+) (Menlur) of Elpamachena.

1st s. PAPARU (Appapur House 8).

4th wife: Anmama (Sigarlu) of Sarlapalli (House 7).

1st husband: IRAYA (+) (Nallapoteru) of Sarlapalli.

1st s. LINGARU (12 years)

1st s. LINGARU (1 month)

House 7. Anmama (Sigarlu) from Vatellapalli.

1st husband: IRAYA (+) (Nallapoteru) of Sarlapalli, brother of LINGARU (Pulajelma House 13).

1st s. LINGARU (House 10).

wife: Yelli (Sigarlu) of Sarlapalli.

2nd s. LINGARU (House 9).

wife: Gengi (Sigarlu) of Vatellapalli.

3rd s. YENKATI (House 8).

wife: Lingi (Sigarlu) of Sarlapalli.

1st d. Bei (House 11).

husband: KANARU (Sigarlu) of Sarlapalli.

2nd d. Lingi.

husband: POTERU (Sigarlu) of Tirmalapur.

3rd d. Yeli

(13 years).

1. Endo-clan marriage.

2nd husband: **PAPAYA** (+) (Pulsaru) from Peddacheruvu, Kurnool.
 1st wife: Lachama (Menlur) from Elpamachena (House 6).
 2nd wife: Lingama (Menlur) from Timmareddipalli (House 2).
 3rd wife: Vidama (+) (Menlur) from Elpamachena.

1st d. Lingi (10 years)

House 8. **YENKATI** (Nallapoteru) of Sarlapalli, son of Anmama (House 7).
 wife: Lingi (Sigarlu) of Sarlapalli.

1st husband: **PAPARU** (+) (Menlur) of Upnotla.
 1st s. YIDGARU (9 years)
 1st s. (+).
 2nd s. (+).
 3rd s. LINGARU (4 years)
 4th s. BUCHIGARU (2 years)

House 9. **LINGARU** (Nallapoteru) of Sarlapalli, son of Anmama (House 7).
 wife: Gengi (Sigarlu) from Vatellapalli, daughter of Vore **LINGARU** (Vatellapalli House 5).

1st s. LINGARU (+).
 2nd s. BAYERU (4 years)
 3rd s. MUTERU (3 years)
 1st d. Bei (1 year)

House 10. **LINGARU** (Nallapoteru) of Sarlapalli, son of Anmama (House 7).
 1st wife: Lingi (+) (Nimal) from Malapur.

2nd wife: Bei (Sigarlu) of Sarlapalli, daughter of *peddamanchi* of Sarlapalli.
 2nd husband: **GURUVARU** (Menlur) of Paletta, Kurnool.

3rd wife: Yelli (Sigarlu) of Sarlapalli.
Yelli (Sigarlu) of Sarlapalli, younger sister of Yeli (orphaned).

House 11. **KANARU** (Sigarlu) of Sarlapalli, father's brother's son of *peddamanchi* of Sarlapalli.

wife: Bei (Nallapoteru) of Sarlapalli, daughter of Anmama (House 7).
 1st s. MUTERU (+).
 1st d. Bei (3 years)
 2nd d. Muti (1 year)

THIRD SETTLEMENT.

House 12. **MUTERU** (Sigarlu) of Sarlapalli.

1st wife: Yidi (+) (Menlur) from Elpamachena.
 1st d. Papi.
 husband: YIDGARU (Menlur) from Chitlam-gunta.

2nd wife: Anmi (Menlur) from Elpamachena.
 2nd husband: YIDGARU (Sigarlu) of Maradugu.
 1st d. Lingi (4 years)
 3rd wife: Vidama (Pulsaru) from Peddacheruvu, father's brother's
 daughter of PAPAYA (House 6).
Muti (Menlur) of Elpamachena, daughter of Vidama's sister (orphaned)
 (4 years).

House 13. YELLARU (Sigarlu) of Sarlapalli.

wife: Lingi (Nimal) from Medimankal.
 1st s. LINGARU (+).
 2nd s. YELLERU (+).

Patur Bayal

Patur Bayal is a small settlement, about a mile south of Sarlapalli, consisting of only two houses. They are inhabited by the son and daughter of Lingaru (Sigarlu) (Sarlappalli House 4), who are both widowed (cf. pp. 259, 260). It appears that Patur Bayal has always been a sub-settlement of Sarlapalli and has only recently been used as a permanent settlement.

House 1. Lingi (Sigarlu) from Vatellapalli, daughter of LINGARU (Sarlappalli House 4).

1st husband: LINGARU (+) (Menlur) from Sarlapalli.
 1st s. (+).
 1st d. Anmi (11 years)
 2nd s. YIDGARU (9 years)
 2nd husband: LINGARU (+) (Sigarlu) from Timmareddipalli.
 1st s. (+).
 2nd s. (+).
 1st d. (+).
 3rd husband: LINGARU (Menlur) (+) from Sarlapalli.
 1st d. (+).
 2nd d. (+).
 3rd d. (+).

Papi (Sigarlu) from Sarlapalli, mother of 1st husband.

husband: LINGARU (+) (Menlur) of Elpamachena.

1st d. Lingi.
 husband: LINGARU (Sigarlu) of Upnotla.
 2nd d. Lingi.
 husband: YIDGARU (Sigarlu) of Maradugu.
 1st s. LINGARU (+).
 wife: Lingi (Sigarlu) from Vatellapalli.
 2nd s. YIDGARU (14 years)

House 2. LINGARU (Sigarlu) from Vatellapalli, son of LINGARU (Sarlappalli House 4), brother of Lingi (House 1).

1. Endo-clan marriage.

1st wife: Lingi (+) (Menlur) from Elpamachena.
 1st s. (+).
 1st d. Papi.
 husband: BAYERU (Menlur) of Ippalapalli.
 2nd d. Lingi.
 husband: BAYERU (Menlur) of Mara-dugu.
 2nd s. BICHIGARU (12 years)
 3rd d. Malli (9 years)
 2nd wife: Lachi (+) (Menlur) from Upnotla.
 1st d. (+).
 1st s. LINGARU (3 years)

Timmareddipalli

Timmareddipalli lies about two miles east of Sarlapalli; however it does not seem to belong to the Vatellapalli-Sarlapalli group; it is not a sub-settlement of Sarlapalli, but a separate village probably with close connections with the now disbanded village of Tatigundal.

At present Timmareddipalli is inhabited by two cousins of Sigarlu clan and their mother who comes from Sri Sailam; she married as her second husband Papaya (+) (Sarlapalli House 6), but never went to live in Sarlapalli, where Papaya had already two wives.

During the mohua season people from Upnotla come to Timmareddipalli to collect fruits and mohua flowers and often stay as visitors in one of the houses. Their right in the land probably dates from the time when their fathers and grandfathers lived in Tatigundal and Elpamachena.

House 1. LINGARU (Sigarlu) of Timmareddipalli, father's brother's son of LINGARU (House 3), brother of Yelli (Railet House), son of Lingi (House 2).
 wife: Guruvi (Tokal) from Appapur, sister of YIDGARU (Railet House 7).
 1st s. LACHUNGARU (7 years)
 2nd s. LACHUNGARU (3 years)
 1st d. Yelli (1 year)

House 2. Lingi (Menlur) from Sri Sailam, mother of LINGARU (House 1), mother of Yelli (Railet House 3).
 husband: LINGARU (Sigarlu) (+) of Timmareddipalli.
 1st s. LINGARU (House 1).
 wife: Guruvi (Tokal) from Appapur.
 1st d. Yelli (Railet House 3).
 husband: LINGARU (Nallapoteru) of Railet
 2nd husband: PAPAYA (+) (Pulsaru) from Peddacheruvu (Sarlapalli House 6).

House 3. LINGARU (Sigarlu) of Timmareddipalli, father's brother's son LINGARU (House 1).
 wife: Lingi (Nimal) from Medimankal, daughter of LINGARU (Vatellapalli House 3).
 1st s. (+).

Koman Penta

Koman Penta is a prosperous village in the valley of the Nalla Vagu, about four miles north of Sarlapalli and some 600 ft. lower. The large clearing on which it lies provides good soil for ploughing and the *peddamanchi* of Koman Penta is the only Jungle Chenchu who practises this method of cultivation (cf. p. 76).

The *peddamanchi* is of Menlur clan, or more precisely of Daunsen-Menlur, which is a sub-clan of the Menlur clan. Two of his sons live in Koman Penta, while his eldest son has settled in Sri Sailam, the village of his wife: both the *peddamanchi*'s sister and one of his daughters are married in Sri Sailam and live in Kurnool. The remaining four houses of Koman Penta are of a sub-clan of Sigarlu, called Jela, which is wide-spread in the villages east of Amrabad; three householders come from Maradugu and one from Chitlamgunta, all of these are married to women of Koman Penta and thus live in their wives' village. The *peddamanchi* is married to the sister of the *peddamanchi* of Sarlapalli and one of his sons to another girl from Vatellapalli, but most other alliances are with people from the villages east of Amrabad. Thus Koman Penta stands sociologically, as well as geographically, midway between the Chenches of the upper plateau and the Village Chenches of the Amrabad ledge.

Since there is no perennial water at Koman Penta, the whole community moves to Kollem Penta during the hot weather; this site is $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of Koman Penta and here they build small grass huts. During the mohua flower season, the Koman Penta people are joined by people from Tirmalapur and Maradugu, some of whom belonged originally to the now disbanded village of Elpamachena.

House 1. GANGARU (Daunsen-Menlur) of Koman Penta, *peddamanchi* of Koman Penta.

wife: Papi (Sigarlu) from Sarlapalli, sister of the *peddamanchi* of Sarlapalli (Sarlapalli House 1).

1st s. PEDIGARU.

wife: Pedama (Sigarlu) of Sri Sailam.

2nd s. PEDIGARU (House 2).

wife: Beyama (Sigarlu) from Tatigundal.

1st d. Pedama.

husband: AULIGARU (Sigarlu) from Sri Sailam.

2nd d. Buchama (House 3).

husband: YIDGARU (Sigarlu) from Maradugu.

3rd d. (+).

4th d. (+).

3rd s. YIRADU (House 7).

wife: Lingi (Sigarlu) from Vatellapalli.

4th s. (+).

5th s. (+).

House 2. PEDIGARU (Daunsen-Menlur) of Koman Penta, son of *peddamanchi*, (Koman Penta House 1).

wife: Beyama (Sigarlu) from Tatigundal.

1st s. PEDIGARU (+).

2nd s. PEDIGARU (5 years)

1st d. Pedama (3 years)

3rd s. PEDIGARU (6 months)

House 3. YIDGARU (Jela-Sigarlu) from Maradugu, son of Yidgaru (Jela-Sigarlu) (House 4).

wife: Buchama (Daunsen-Menlur) of Koman Penta, daughter of peddamanchi of Koman Penta (House 1).
 1st d. Bei (6 years)
 2nd d. Vidama (+)
 3rd d. Muti (1 year)

House 4. YIDGARU (Jela-Sigarlu) from Maradugu.

1st wife: Bei (Menlur) from Maddimadgu (+).
 1st s. YIDGARU (House 3). wife: Buchama (Daunsen-Menlur) of Koman Penta.
 2nd wife: Anmi (Daunsen-Menlur) of Koman Penta, sister of peddamanchi of Koman Penta (House 1).
 1st d. Lingi. husband: GANGARU (Menlur) of Sri Sailam.
 1st s. (+).
 2nd d. (+).
 3rd d. (+).

House 5. YIDGARU (Jela-Sigarlu) from Maradugu.

wife: Anmi (Menlur) of Koman Penta.
 1st s. BAYERU (2 years)

House 6. YIDGARU (Sigarlu) from Chitlamguntla.

wife: Lingi (Menlur) of Koman Penta.
 1st s. YENKARU (1 year)

House 7. YIRADU (Daunsen-Menlur) of Koman Penta, son of peddamanchi of Koman Penta (House 1), brother of PEDIGARU (House 2), brother of Buchama (House 3).

wife: Lingi (Sigarlu) from Vatellapalli, daughter of Vore LINGARU (Vatellapalli House 5).
 1st d. Lingi (7 years)
 2nd d. Yidi (3 years)

APPENDIX II
Distribution of Chenchus on the Upper Plateau

Name of village	No. of Houses	Adults		Children		Total
		Male	Female	Male	Female	
Irla Penta	.. 11	9	12	15	14	50
Medimankal	.. 7	6	7	1	6	20
Boramacheruvu	.. 6	6	5	8	5	24
Appapur	.. 9	5	9	11	9	34
Rampur	.. 8	7	9	17	9	42
Bikit Penta	.. 3	4	3	1	3	11
Pullaipalli	.. 3	4	4	1	5	14
Malapur	.. 4	5	6	2	7	20
Pulajelma	.. 12	11	16	15	7	48
Railet	.. 11	10	13	10	15	48
Vatellapalli	.. 8	9	8	4	6	27
Sarlapalli	.. 13	11	13	10	13	47
Patur Bayal	.. 2	1	2	4	2	9
Timmareddipalli	.. 3	2	3	2	1	8
Koman Penta	.. 7	7	7	4	5	23
Total	.. 107	97	117	105	107	426

APPENDIX III

Genealogies

The following genealogies are those of a Nimal kin-group of Malapur (I), of a Sigarlu kin-group now centred in Pulajelma (II), and that of a Tokal kin-group, descended from a former *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu and now furnishing the *peddamanchi* of Boramacheruvu, Medimankal, Appapur, Pullaipalli and Bikit Penta (III).

The names of living persons are underlined and their residence is given in brackets. Owing to reasons of space, the names of persons who died before marriage have been omitted, but these can be found in the house-lists of the village census. The same applies to first husbands or wives without descendants.

APPENDIX IV

Number of Children of Women past Child-bearing Age

Name of Village	No. of Women past child-bearing age	No. of Children ¹ born alive	No. of Children who died before reaching maturity	No. of Children surviving
Irla Penta	.. 2	16	7	9
Medimankal	.. 1	2	..	2
Boramacheruvu	.. 2	11	..	11
Appapur	.. 4	26	7	17
Rampur	.. 2	15	8	6
Bikit Penta	.. 1	3	..	3
Pullaipalli	.. ..	..	..	..
Malapur	.. 2	9	..	9
Pulajelma	.. 5	34	11	22
Railet	.. 2	13	2	11
Vatellapalli	.. 2	11	3	7
Sarlapalli	.. 4	14	1	12
Patur Bayal	.. 2	13	7	5
Timmareddipalli	.. 1	2	..	2
Koman Penta	.. 2	13	7	6
Total ..	32	182	53	122

1. The figures for children born alive are almost certainly too low, for Chenchus have a tendency not to mention children who died young and in the case of women who were not present in their villages at the time of the Census, the data given by other informants are probably incomplete.

APPENDIX V
Distribution of Domestic Animals.

Name of Village	No. of owners	OXEN			BUFFALOES				Goats	Chicken
		Bulls	Cows	Calves	Bulls	Cows	Calves			
Irla Penta	.. 5	..	28	13	..	3	3	..	4 hens 9 chicks	
Medimankal	.. 1	..	..	..	..	4	3	..	..
Boramacheruvu	.. 1	1	..	..	1	3	3	..	..
Appapur	.. 2	..	..	..	..	7	6	..	..
Rampur	.. 1	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..
Bikit Penta	.. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pullaipalli	.. 2	..	..	..	..	3	2	..	..
Malapur	.. 2	..	..	..	..	4	3	6	..	
Pulajelma	.. 5	1	..	..	1	5	8	1	..	
Railet	.. 8	..	..	..	..	9	2	10 1 hen 3 chicks		
Vatellapalli	.. 5	1	11	7	..	17	14	16 2 hens 4 chicks		
Sarlapalli	.. 5	..	..	..	..	11	7	2 4 hens 3 chicks		
Timmareddipalli	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Patur Bayal	.. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Koman Penta	.. 3	..	6	2	..	7	4	..	..

APPENDIX VI

RATES OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

INCOME¹.

Ghee: 1 *seer*²—Re. 1.

From the milk of one buffalo cow 1 *seer* of ghee can be accumulated within 2 to 3 weeks.

Calves: Rs. 3 to Rs. 4 each.

Baskets: 1 large basket—1 *seer* millet.

1 small basket— $\frac{1}{2}$ *seer* millet.

1 man can make 2 medium sized baskets per day.

SEASONAL INCOME

Hot Season

Soap nuts: (collected for contractors).

1 basket of 12 *seer*—As. 4.

1 man can collect 1 basket in 2 days.

Dried mohua flower: 6 to 4 *seer* Re. 1.

Chironji: 1 *seer* shelled kernels Re. 1.

1 man can collect and shell 1 *seer* in 8-10 days.

Forest Work: demarcation of coupes and plantation up-keep.

$\frac{3}{4}$ *seer* millet per day.

Annual Pilgrimage to Sri Sailam: coolie wages, etc.

Average per man Re. 1.

Rainy Season

Ebony leaves: (collected for contractors for use as *bidi*).

100 bundles—As. 4.

1 man can collect 100 bundles in 3 to 4 days.

Honey: 2 to 3 *seer* Re. 1.

Wax: 2 to 3 large honeycombs Re. 1.

Cold Season

Myrabolans: (collected for contractors) 6 to 8 baskets Re. 1.

1 man can collect 2 baskets a day.

1. The items enumerated below do not embrace all potential sources of income; the values are those quoted by the Cheachus, but cash payment is rare, most transactions being carried out by barter. Work for contractors is limited, since contractors employ mainly outside labour.

2. The Indian *seer* corresponds approximately to 2 lbs. although there are local variations.

EXPENDITURE

			Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
<i>Dress and Ornament</i>				
Man:	<i>Rumal</i>	..	..	0 10 0 to 1 4 0
	<i>Shirt</i>	..	..	1 0 0
	<i>Cummerbund</i>	..	..	0 12 0 to 1 0 0
	<i>Ear-rings</i>	..	..	0 2 0 to 0 4 0
	<i>Leather belt and pouch</i>	..	..	0 8 0 to 0 12 0
Woman:	<i>Sari</i>	..	..	1 4 0 to 3 8 0
	<i>Choli</i>	..	..	0 4 0 to 0 8 0
	<i>Glass bangles: 3 for</i>	..	..	0 2 0
	<i>Aluminium Bangles</i>	..	..	0 2 0
	<i>Ear-rings</i>	..	..	0 2 0 to 0 8 0
	<i>Bead necklaces</i>	..	..	0 4 0 to 1 4 0
	<i>Toe and finger rings</i>	..	..	0 1 0 to 0 2 0
	<i>Nose studs</i>	..	..	0 1 0 to 0 8 0
<i>Household goods and Implements</i>				
	<i>Pots (earthen)</i>	..	..	0 2 0 to 0 4 0
	<i>Brass vessels</i>	..	..	0 12 0 to 1 8 0
	<i>Winnowing fans</i>	..	..	0 2 0
	<i>Grinding Mills</i>	..	..	2 0 0 to 3 0 0
	<i>Flint</i>	..	..	0 2 0
	<i>Axe-head</i>	..	..	0 12 0 to 1 0 0
	<i>Knife</i>	..	..	1 8 0 to 3 8 0
	<i>Iron point for digging stick</i>	..	..	0 8 0 to 1 0 0
	<i>Sickle</i>	..	..	1 0 0
<i>Ceremonies</i>				
	<i>Weddings</i>	..	..	3 0 0 to 12 0 0
	<i>Confinements</i>	..	..	0 4 0 to 1 8 0
	<i>Funeral Rites</i>	..	..	1 0 0 to 3 0 0
<i>Food-stuffs</i>				
	<i>Jawar 8-10 seer</i>	..	..	1 0 0
	<i>Ragi 16-18 seer</i>	..	..	1 0 0
	<i>Rice 4½ seer</i>	..	..	1 0 0
	<i>Salt 7 seer</i>	..	..	1 0 0
	<i>Chillies 1½ seer</i>	..	..	0 8 0 to 0 12 0
	<i>Dhal 5 seer</i>	..	..	1 0 0

APPENDIX VII

LIST OF RELATIONSHIP TERMS

Chenchus employ the same terms for addressing and describing relatives; in cases where the Chenchu terms differ from those used in ordinary Telugu, the Telugu terms are given in brackets.

Father's father	<i>tata.</i>
Mother's father	<i>tata.</i>
Father's mother	<i>auva.</i>
Mother's mother	<i>auva.</i>
Father	<i>aya, appa, naina.</i>
Mother	<i>amma.</i>
Father's elder brother	<i>peddaya, peddappa, peddaina.</i>
His wife	<i>peddamma.</i>
Father's younger brother	<i>chinnaya, chinappa, chinnaina.</i>
His wife	<i>chinnamma.</i>
Mother's brother	<i>mama.</i>
His wife	<i>atta.</i>
Father's sister	<i>atta.</i>
Her husband	<i>mama.</i>
Mother's elder sister	<i>peddamma.</i>
Her husband	<i>peddaina.</i>
Mother's younger sister	<i>chinnamma.</i>
Her husband	<i>chinnaina.</i>
Wife's father	<i>mama.</i>
Wife's mother	<i>atta.</i>
Wife's father's father	<i>tata.</i>
Wife's mother's mother	<i>auva.</i>
Husband's father	<i>mama.</i>
Husband's mother	<i>atta.</i>
Husband's father's father	<i>tata.</i>
Husband's mother's mother	<i>auva.</i>
Elder brother (m.s. and w.s.) ¹	<i>anna</i>
Younger brother (m.s. and w.s.)	<i>tamuru (tamudu).</i>
Elder sister (m.s. and w.s.)	<i>akka.</i>
Younger sister (m.s. and w.s.)	<i>chelli, chella (chellelu).</i>
Father's brother's son (if older)	<i>anna, annaya.</i>
Father's brother's son (if younger)	<i>tamura.</i>

1. M.s. and w.s. stand for "man speaking" and "woman speaking."

Father's brother's daughter (if older)	<i>akka,akkaya.</i>
Father's brother's daughter (if younger)	<i>chelli, chella.</i>
Father's sister's son (if older)	<i>bava.</i>
Father's sister's son (if younger)	<i>bamardi (bavamardi).</i>
Father's sister's daughter (if older)	<i>vodana (vadina).</i>
Father's sister's daughter (if younger)	<i>mardela (maradulu).</i>
Mother's brother's son (if older)	<i>bava.</i>
Mother's brother's son (if younger)	<i>bamardi.</i>
Mother's brother's daughter (if older)	<i>vodana.</i>
Mother's brother's daughter (if younger)	<i>mardela.</i>
Mother's sister's son (if older)	<i>anna.</i>
Mother's sister's son (if younger)	<i>tamura.</i>
Mother's sister's daughter (if older)	<i>akka.</i>
Mother's sister's daughter (if younger)	<i>chelli, chella.</i>
Husband	<i>maman</i> , but usually not addressed.
Wife	<i>portsa</i> , but usually not addressed.
Wife's brother (if older)	<i>bava.</i>
Wife's brother (if younger)	<i>bamardi.</i>
Wife's elder sister	<i>vodana.</i>
Wife's younger sister	<i>mardela.</i>
Husband's elder brother	<i>bava.</i>
Husband's younger brother	<i>bamardi.</i>
Husband's elder sister	<i>vodana.</i>
Husband's younger sister	<i>mardela.</i>
Wife's elder sister's husband	<i>bava.</i>
Wife's younger sister's husband	<i>bamardi.</i>
Husband's elder brother's wife	<i>akka.</i>
Husband's younger brother's wife	<i>chelli, chella.</i>
Wife's brother's wife (if older)	<i>vodana.</i>
Wife's brother's wife (if younger)	<i>mardela.</i>
Husband's elder sister's husband	<i>anna.</i>
Husband's younger sister's husband	<i>tamura.</i>
Elder sister's husband	<i>bava.</i>
Younger sister's husband	<i>bamardi.</i>
Elder brother's wife	<i>vodana.</i>
Younger brother's wife	<i>mardela.</i>
Son's wife's father (m.s.)	<i>bava.</i>
Son's wife's father (w.s.)	<i>anna.</i>
Son's wife's mother (m.s.)	<i>akka.</i>
Son's wife's mother (w.s.)	<i>vodana.</i>

Daughter's husband's father (m.s.)	<i>bava.</i>
Daughter's husband's father (w.s.)	<i>anna.</i>
Son	name or <i>korku</i> (<i>koduku</i>).
Daughter	name or <i>bidda</i> (<i>koduru</i>).
Brother's son (m.s.)	name or <i>korku</i> .
Brother's son (w.s.)	name or <i>aluda</i> , <i>aludu</i> .
Brother's daughter (m.s.)	name or <i>bidda</i> .
Brother's daughter (w.s.)	name or <i>korela</i> .
Sister's son (m.s.)	name or <i>aluda</i> , <i>aludu</i> .
Sister's son (w.s.)	name or <i>korku</i> .
Sister's daughter (m.s.)	name or <i>korela</i> (<i>kodala</i>).
Sister's daughter (w.s.)	name or <i>bidda</i> .
Wife's brother's son	name or <i>aluda</i> , <i>aludu</i> .
Wife's brother's daughter	name or <i>korela</i> .
Wife's sister's son	name or <i>korku</i> .
Wife's sister's daughter	name or <i>bidda</i> .
Husband's brother's son	name or <i>korku</i> .
Husband's brother's daughter	name or <i>bidda</i> .
Husband's sister's son	name or <i>aluda</i> .
Husband's sister's daughter	name or <i>korela</i> .
Daughter's husband	name or <i>aluda</i> .
Son's wife	name or <i>korela</i> .
Son's son	name or <i>manuvara</i> (<i>manamadu</i>) or <i>tata</i> .
Son's daughter	name or <i>manuvaral</i> (<i>manamaralu</i>).
Daughter's son	name or <i>manuvara</i> or <i>tata</i> .
Daughter's daughter	name or <i>manuvaral</i> .

APPENDIX VIII

THE CREATION OF A CHENCHU RESERVE

Dr. von Fürer-Haimendorf has asked me to add a brief note to his remarkable book on the Chenchus illustrative of the importance and value of anthropological work to the administrator. I think that the best way in which I can show the benefit which I have derived from Dr. von Fürer-Haimendorf's study of the Chenchus is by giving publicity to the action taken. I accordingly append the departmental report to Government dated 12th February 1942 together with the notification by which the Chenchu Reserve has been constituted and the rules which will govern the administration of this Reserve. These proposals were sanctioned by the Government of His Exalted Highness on the 23rd February and have now come into force.

The aborigines of the Amrabad Plateau owe a great debt to Dr. von Fürer-Haimendorf for his careful research and study of their needs. Indeed it is permissible to hope that as a result of his investigations the decline of this interesting primitive race, which has been noticed in the last twenty years, may now to some extent be checked, and that the aborigines of the reserve may receive sufficient protection to allow them to live their lives in their own way in the remote forest glades where they have lived from time immemorial.

R. M. CROFTON,
Director-General and Secretary, Revenue Department.

HYDERABAD-DECCAN,
1st March 1942.

REPORT FOR THE ORDERS OF GOVERNMENT.

The Revenue Department has for the last three years had under consideration the steps to be taken in order to preserve in their natural homes the ancient and aboriginal tribe of the Chenchus. From time immemorial this forest tribe has been inhabiting the remote forest areas of the Amrabad hills of Mahbubnagar district. From the point of view of the anthropologist the tribe has many distinguishing features of special interest. It has maintained its individual characteristics and has not lost its special customs or its social and economic independence. The Hill Chenchus of the Amrabad plateau are not accustomed to work for regular wages nor have they ever taken to cultivation and only rarely have they agreed to work even as forest labourers. They are a tribe of food-collectors and they appear to be in grave danger of extinction as a race unless special steps are taken to safeguard their continuance. Chenchus mostly live on minor forest produce such as edible roots, fruit, etc., and on small game like hares, squirrels, etc., which they kill with bows and arrows. Owing to the remoteness of the Amrabad plateau they have continued until quite recently isolated, with few contacts with the civilised world below the plateau. The present population on the plateau is only 426. The Chenchus live in *pentas* and are apt to move from place to place in the jungles, each *penta* having a recognised part of the jungle under tribal custom in which it alone has rights of chase and of collecting roots and other edible forest produce. After his first visit to the plateau the Director-General of Revenue suggested various steps which should be taken in order to try and improve their economic condition by making available grain supplies which could be exchanged for minor forest produce and by supplying cattle with which it was hoped that Chenchus might themselves take to cultivation and so obtain a better diet. These steps were not very successful and a new outlook on the problem of the Chenchus resulted from the researches of a distinguished anthropologist, Dr. von Fürer-Haimendorf, who stayed in the Amrabad hills for over 6 months and has written a remarkable book now under print on this aboriginal race. Dr. von Fürer-Haimendorf at the request of the Director-General of Revenue has also recorded an administrative note giving his suggestions as an anthropologist as to the best means of enabling this tribe to survive under modern conditions. This note has been discussed on several occasions with Dr. von Fürer-Haimendorf and with the Inspector-General of Forests and as a result the proposals submitted with this Guzarish have been prepared. The proposals fall under two heads, (i) a Notification declaring a portion of the plateau at Amrabad, the boundaries of which are given and which covers roughly one lakh¹ of acres of forest area, to be a Chenchu Reserve, and (ii) rules which have been framed which will govern the administration of the Chenchu Reserve in the interest of the forest and of the aboriginal residents. The Revenue Department therefore commend these proposals to Government for sanction, and on account both of anthropological and humanitarian reasons considers it to be a responsibility of Government to see that these ancient aborigines of the Deccan are given an opportunity to live out their lives in their ancient habitation and in so far as they are capable of being preserved are enabled to survive. It is indeed a responsibility which Government should discharge to these simple people and follows to some extent the similar action

1. 100,000 acres.

which has been taken in the Madras Province in respect of another interesting aboriginal race, the Todas. The Inspector-General of Forests and Dr. von Fürer-Haimendorf have both reported from their points of view that the proposals made should be beneficial to the Chenchus and will also not be inconsistent with forest requirements. There is one particular step which is of urgent importance, and that is the provision of special medical relief in this area. A malaria survey has recently been done and shows that the splenic index of these aborigines is now very high, varying from 60 to 90 per cent., and that they are themselves a source of danger by infection which may well spread to the surrounding areas. Apart from this the Chenchus are particularly prone to the disease known as yaws and special treatment is necessary in order to protect them from this disease by inoculation. Separate action is being taken by the Revenue Department in consultation with the Director of Public Health to ensure that the necessary medical relief is made available.

The Notification and rules are therefore submitted for the sanction of Government. The case is a Schedule B case.

R. M. CROFTON, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Director-General, Revenue.
12th February 1942.

NOTIFICATION

Amrabad is one of the oldest Forest Reserves and was first notified under Government order dated 23rd Thir 1303 F. and thereafter notified under section 7 of the Forest Act No. 1 of 1326 F. in Part I of Jarida No. 40 dated 30th Shehrewar 1349 of which 107,853 acres have been constituted experimentally for a period of five years as "Chenchu Reserve." The boundaries of the Reserve are as follows:

North. The boundary starts from a point 2 miles south-west of Lingal and runs along the fringe of the Amrabad Plateau until it reaches the summit of a hill whose altitude is 2,316 feet. From there it descends into the valley of the Dharamwaram Vagu, follows the stream in a south-eastern direction and then runs uphill to a height of 2,609 feet. Thereafter it proceeds to Agarla Penta, skirts Burj Gundal and zigzags to a point between Farhabad and Rasul Cheruvu. It then follows the foot-path from the Farhabad Forest Rest-house to Malapur village, and runs thence south-eastwards as far as the Kaklet Vagu.

East. It runs along the Kaklet Vagu in a south-eastern direction as far as the confluence of the Kaklet and Bugga Vagu. Thereafter it follows the Bugga Vagu to the Kistna River.

South. The southern boundary runs along the Kistna River from the mouth of the Bugga Vagu westwards as far as the mouth of the Yemlapaya Vagu.

West. From the confluence of the Yemlapaya Vagu and the Kistna River the boundary runs north along the Yemlapaya Vagu whence it proceeds towards Dharamwaram and Lingal until it reaches its starting point south-west of Lingal.

RULES GOVERNING THE "CHENCHU RESERVE."

1. From time immemorial, the Chenchus have been inhabiting the forest areas of Amrabad hills of Mahbubnagar district. They are not accustomed to work in Government service or as cultivators or labourers and they seem to be also in

danger of extinction as a race by close contact with others. They mostly live on forest products such as edible fruits, bulbs, rhizomes, etc., and on small game like hares and pigs. In order to preserve the race and to look to their welfare and livelihood, the Government is pleased to sanction the following rules for the notified "Chenchu Reserve."

2. Chenchus living within the Reserve will be free to follow their habits and inclinations and will be allowed to extract from anywhere within the Reserve all minor products as particularised in the statement attached, without payment, for their own bona fide domestic purposes.

3. Within the reserved boundaries minor forest produce will not be auctioned by the Forest Department, but the Department will arrange to purchase direct at Farhabad at fixed prices all minor products collected by Chenchus within the Reserve and brought for sale. The prices at which the minor products will be purchased are given in the list appended.

4. Without the permission of the Inspector-General of Forests no non-Chenchu will be allowed to settle and live permanently within the Reserve and permission will only be given by the Inspector-General of Forests for stated periods to contractors or their servants who are engaged in the exploitation of the forest coupes.

5. For the exploitation of the forest under the coupe system the contractors will have a special license to be executed by each contractor taking a coupe within the Reserve by which the contractor will be bound not to compel any Chenchu to work in the coupe and if any Chenchu wishes to be employed to pay them fixed scheduled wages which will be announced at the time of the auction of the coupe and fixed by the Inspector-General of Forests taking into due account the inefficiency of the labour. All wages will be paid in cash. A register or muster roll for Chenchus employed and wages paid shall be maintained and the Range Officer shall check it at least once in every month and certify its correctness.

6. *Grazing rights within the Reserve.*—Chenchus living within the Reserve will be allowed to graze their own buffaloes and cattle subject to the following limitations:—

Free of charge: For each Chenchu family 2 buffaloes, 4 cows and 2 goats in addition to calves and kids less than one year old. For cattle above this number the normal grazing fees will be recoverable, but as a special concession and since the animals are at present regarded by Chenchus as being the communal property of the group though owned by the headman of the Penta, no actual recovery of grazing fees from Chenchus will be made for a period of five years.

The Forest Department will endeavour to supply Chenchus with a certain number of buffaloes and cows. Lambaras bringing cattle for grazing in the summer months within the Reserve will be required to avoid troubling Chenchus in any manner. They should also be encouraged to give a certain amount of employment in watching the grazing cattle to Chenchus on suitable remuneration whether in the form of cash or in the form of live-stock. Apart from the goats owned as above by Chenchus in the Reserve no goats or sheep belonging to outsiders will be allowed to enter or be grazed in the Reserve.

7. *Cultivation within the Reserve.*—If in any Chenchu village there is a desire to cultivate land adjoining the Penta either with garden crops or otherwise this will be allowed free of all charge for the next five years after which the position will be further reviewed. All such cultivation will be in the demarcated lands approved by the Forest Department for the purpose. The usual limit for each

house should be fixed at one acre. If a larger area is required the Inspector-General of Forests will after considering the special circumstances pass suitable orders. No non-Chenchu will be allowed to cultivate any land within the Chenchu Reserve. This will not of course debar the Forest Department from carrying out any artificial regeneration by taungya, rab or stump planting.

NOTE.—*The Forester at Farhabad will be supplied with seeds of selected garden crops for distribution among the Chenchus, free of cost for the first five years, in order to encourage their gardening activities.*

8. The Forest Department will, if possible, employ a specially selected Chenchu Forest Guard who will be sympathetic to the ideas underlying the creation of the Chenchu Reserve at Boramacheruvu Penta and there will also be employed two Chenchu Forest Watchmen, one will be stationed at Medimankal and the second at Boramacheruvu Penta who will be paid by the Forest Department according to the efficiency from Rs. 6 to 8 p.m. If no suitable Chenchu Forest Guard is available the Forest Guard in charge of Boramacheruvu-Sangrigundal block should have his headquarters at Farhabad and live at Boramacheruvu only during the felling months.

9. There will be a special connection maintained between the Chenchu Reserve and Farhabad which the Chenchus will be encouraged to look upon as their marketing centre. At Farhabad the Forest Department will organise a purchasing and sale society on similar lines to the Government shops in Madras under the Forester who will be stationed at Farhabad. This Depot will purchase all minor forest produce brought by Chenchus and supply them with whatever their requirements may be. No *banya* will be allowed to deal with the Chenchus from the Reserve. In addition at Farhabad there will be an outpatient dispensary which will be affiliated to the dispensary at Amrabad, the Medical Officer of which will be directed to pay monthly visits on prescribed dates and to stay there for two days at each visit. In between the visits quinine and other simple medicines which will be kept in stock will be entrusted to the Forester for distribution. Particular attention will be paid by the Medical Officer to the treatment of yaws during his monthly visits and it will be the duty of the Forester to see that Chenchus suffering from yaws in the Reserve are informed of the days when they can come to the dispensary and receive the medical treatment. The Forester in dispensing the medicine to the Chenchus will act strictly in accordance with the orders given to him by the Medical Officer, Amrabad. It will be the further duty of the Forester to encourage the Chenchus living in the Reserve to take up forest industries, viz., basket making from bamboos, etc. The Forest Officer in charge of the Chenchu Reserve shall maintain a register of all saleable products showing their quantity and the amount of sales realised by the Chenchus from each of the Penta.

10. All Forest Officers having any contact with the Reserve will make it a special point to see that no forced labour is allowed to be taken from Chenchus and that they are paid proper wages in cash for all work and services performed.

11. Any Chenchus from outside the Reserve who wish to come and live within the Reserve will be allowed to do so with the permission of the Inspector-General of Forests which will be freely granted in the case of Chenchus living on the Amrabad plateau.

12. Chenchus living within the Reserve will be allowed to hunt with bow and arrow irrespective of whether the area is included in a game sanctuary or not. Guns will not be allowed.

13. Separate rules will be drafted by the Inspector-General of Forests regulating the concessions to be allowed to Chenchus living in the Amrabad plateau outside the Chenchu Reserve and for the establishment of forest villages at suitable places within the area. In particular rules 2, 3, 5, 6, 7 and 10 will be applied to the Vattellapalli side of the upper plateau, where, if arrangements can be made, a second purchasing centre will be in due course organised. All Jungle Chenchus living on the upper plateau whether living inside or outside the Reserve will be entitled to the same concessions in respect of grazing fees for the period of next five years. As regards Chenchus living on the eastern end of the Amrabad plateau the Forest Department will endeavour to create forest villages if possible inhabited by the Chenchus only, in particular a forest village will be established near Marimadugu which will be exclusively reserved for Chenchus who may care to come and live in it instead of living as at present as rural labourers in small settlements attached to Telugu villages to the east of Amrabad.

14. These rules will remain in force until they are amended either in respect of the concessions granted or in other respects by order of Government.

LIST OF MINOR FOREST PRODUCTS ALLOWED FREE FOR THE CHENCHUS

1. Haleela.	<i>Terminalia chebula.</i>
2. Baleela.	<i>Terminalia belerica.</i>
3. Awla.	<i>Phyllanthus Emblica.</i>
4. Mohua.	<i>Bassia latifolia.</i>
5. Karanj.	<i>Pongamia glabra.</i>
6. Retha.	<i>Sapindus emarginatus.</i>
7. Wild Mangoes.	<i>Mangifera indica.</i>
8. Kawact.	<i>Feronia elephantum.</i>
9. Tamarind.	<i>Tamarindus indica.</i>
10. Belphal.	<i>Acgle Marmelos.</i>
11. Chironji.	<i>Buchanania latifolia.</i>
12. Goomchi.	<i>Abrus precatorius.</i>
13. Khirni.	<i>Mimusops hexandra.</i>
14. Kalami.	<i>Carissa Carandas.</i>
15. Janna.	<i>Grewia populifolia.</i>
16. Bhilawa.	<i>Semecarpus Anacardium.</i>
17. Ber.	<i>Zizyphus Jujuba.</i>
18. Sherifa.	<i>Anona squamosa.</i>
19. Jamoon.	<i>Eugenia Jambolana.</i>
20. Tarwar.	<i>Cassia auriculata.</i>
21. Arnaltas.	<i>Cassia Fistula.</i>
22. Palas.	<i>Butea frondosa.</i>
23. Parkay Tiga.	<i>Bauhinia Vahlii.</i>

24. Abnus.	<i>Diospyros melanoxylon.</i>
25. Grinding stones.	
26. Honey.	
27. Medicinal shrubs and plants.	
28. All edible bulbs, corns and rhizomes.	
29. Firewood and timber of <i>ghairi</i> species.	
30. Bamboos.	

LIST SHOWING THE PRICES FOR THE PURCHASE OF MINOR FOREST PRODUCTS FROM CHENCHUS

1. All edible and non-edible fruits at 6 pies per *seer*.
2. All leaves in bundles of 100 each at 3 pies per bundle.
3. All fibrous and tanning barks at 2 pies per *seer*.
4. Honey—3 *seers* per rupee.

NOTE.—The prices will be subject to alteration under market rules.

SCHEDULE

Rate of Wages for Chenchus

1. 100 poles assorted (*Vasalo*) 12" to 24" girth cutting charges Rs. 3 per 100.
2. (*Dhulalu*) big timber trees, per tree Re. 1 (felling and logging).
3. 100 bamboos *Dendrocalamus strictus*, cutting charges Re. 1 to 1-8-0 per 100.
4. 100 bamboos *B. arundinacea* cutting charges Rs. 2 per 100.
5. Fuel (cutting and stacking) 3 carts per rupee.
6. Grass bundles per cart of 100 *pullah* of $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. each per cart Rs. 1-8-0 to 2-0-0.

NOTE.—The wages are subject to alteration under economic conditions.

INDEX



INDEX

ABORTION, 132, 145, 146, 190, 192.
 Adaptation to new conditions, 16, 73, 265, 298-327.
 Adultery, 141-143, 168, 173, 174, 196, 251, 252, 256, 257, 259, 318.
 Affinities: cultural, 277, 279, 286-297; racial, 4, 18, 283, 285, 290, 293.
 Agriculture: attitude to, 73, 75-78, 260, 265, 302, 315, 323; digging-stick cultivation, 57, 76, 77, 259, 283, 291, 323; plough cultivation, 10, 75, 76, 258, 259, 302-304, 306, 307, 310, 312, 313, 315, 316, 322, 323.
 Ajanta caves, 3.
 Amba Devi, 319.
 Ammavaru, *see* Potsamma.
 Amusements: children's, 128, 129, 235, 237-241; adult's, 42, 237, 241-246.
 Ancestors, *see* Departed.
 Andamanese, 1, 277, 285.
 Animals: domestic, 73-75, 369, *see also* Cattle and Dogs; eaten, 14, 63, 69, 70, 74, 209, 228; hunted 14, 63, 67-70, 209, 226.
 Animal lore, 201, 202, 224-226, 228-230, 282.
 Ankamma, 189, 288.
 Ants, 14, 70.
 Appearance, 17, 18, 44, 227.
 Arrow, 31, 32, 44, 66, 206, 278, 293.
 Art, 35, 36, 40-42, 274.
 Aryan, 3, 281, 285, 286.
 Australia, 2, 22, 284, 327.
 Australoid, 3, 18.
 Axe, 33, 79, 81, 164.
 Avoidance rules, absence of, 131.

BACHELOR, *see* Unmarried.
 Baiga, 2, 271, 273, 285.
 Balamma, 149, 192.
 Bamboo, 12, 29-38, 40-42, 49-52, 64, 66, 278, 302, 306, 307, 312.
 Bananas, 77, 163.
 Banya, *see* Merchant.
 Barter, *see* Trade.

Baskets, 34, 36-38, 59, 278, 316; sale of, 37, 79-80, 307.
 Beads, *see* Ornaments.
 Bear, 14, 152, 153, 224, 225, 248, 258, 282.
 Beauty, Chenchu idea of, 22, 135, 272-274.
 Bees, 14, 25, 65.
 Besta, 287.
 Betrothal, *see* Marriage, approaches to.
 Bhagavantaru, 145, 155, 157, 184-188, 193-196, 200, 250, 279-281, 288, 306, 319; in stories, 211-216, 225, 228, 229.
 Birth-rate, 148, 321, 368.
 Bhil, 285, 293, 294.
 Birds, 14, 67, 70; tamed and sold, 80.
 Bidi, *see* Leaf-pipe.
 Black Magic, 153, 198, 199, 249.
 Bone, uses of, 28, 129, 254.
 Bonta Chenchus, 299.
 Borama, 138, 189.
 Bow, 29-31, 33, 67, 244, 278, 291, 295.
 Brahmin, 286, 308.
 Brother-sister relationship, 92, 93, 110, 203, 204.
 Buchigaru, 192.
 Burial, 153, 279. *see also* Funeral rites.

CASTE SYSTEM, status in, 291, 307-309.
 Cattle, 48, 57, 59, 73-75, 81, 83, 123, 163-165, 204-209, 228, 229, 234, 235, 252, 258, 259, 260, 278, 302-304, 312, 315, 319, 323, 366; attitude to, 73-75, 265, 308, 315, 323; factor in nomadism, 45, 46, 73.
 Census of India, 3, 4, 9, 17, 290-293, 298, 299, 311, 314, 322.
 Ceremonies: agricultural, 76, 77; birth, 146, 147; disease riddance, 188-191; first fruits, 182, 183, 193, 278-281; first hair-cutting, 21, 128, 192; funeral, 154-158; hunting, 69, 180, 181, 258, 319; marriage, 135-140, 261.

Change in mental attitude, 57, 58, 81, 265, 308, 309, 322, 323.

Changing environment, 15, 16, 161, 162, 300, 306, 307, 311-313, 318, 320, 321, 327, 328.

Character, 22, 23, 57, 71, 130, 131, 135, 168, 194, 237, 263-274, 312, 314, 318, 326.

Chenchu Reserve, 327, 328, 375-381.

Childbirth, 108, 145-149, 183, 195, 199.

Child-marriage, 133, 135, 140, 141, 169, 251, 254, 256, 287.

Childlessness, 145, 183.

Children, 107, 108, 127-131, 134, 141, 143, 146, 149, 192, 233-235, 248, 254-257, 264; step-parents' attitude to, 142, 218, 219, 256, 257.

Clans, 87-96, 107, 108, 112-118, 283, 284, 287, 303-305, 319, 331; exogamy of, 87-96, 110, 112, 113, 132, 142, 284, 304; land of, 88-99, 105, 106, 122, 162, 284; traditions of, 89-94, 204, 226.

Classificatory relationship system, 112-118, 131.

Cleanliness, 20, 52.

Clothes, *see* Dress.

Coitus, 143.

Combs, 21, 39, 40.

Conception, 143, 145.

Confinement, *see* Childbirth.

Cooking, 35, 36, 52, 62, 63, 65, 68-71, 77, 148, 155, 235.

Co-operative societies, 315-317.

Council of elders, 91, 119, 120, 141, 167, 168, 170, 173, 174, 252, 256, 305.

Cremation, 153, 154, 279, *see also* Funeral rites.

Crime, *see* Jurisdiction.

Creepers, 12, 26, 27, 34, 51, 58, 61, 62.

Cross-cousin marriage, 110, 114, 131, 132, 134, 282, 294, 296.

Crow, 156, 157, 195, 288.

Cult of the dead, *see* Departed.

Culture contacts, 4, 16, 18, 24, 28, 29, 79, 123, 140, 179, 184, 187-189, 192, 198, 201, 248, 277, 281-289, 298-309, 319, 320.

DAILY ROUTINE, 20, 21, 57, 61, 129, 130, 184, 185, 233-236.

Dancing, 137, 139, 183, 226, 241-246.

Darabaya, 189.

Dayam, *see* Spirits.

Defecation, 20.

Death, 153, 154, 194, 197; pollution, 197, 288.

Decoration, *see* Art and Ornamentation.

Deities, 179-193, 279-281, 305, 306, 319.

Democratic principles, 91, 123.

Departed, cult of, 194-197.

Digging-stick, 29, 30, 61, 81, 234, 278, 302, 303.

Digging-stick cultivation, *see* Agriculture.

Disease, 47, 151-153, 187, 188, 190, 191, 198-200, 307.

Distribution of Chenchus, 9, 10, 298, 299, 311, 366.

Divination, 145, 146, 153, 191, 199, 200.

Divine Sanction, 93, 149, 181, 185, 186, 195, 196.

Division of labour, 37, 50, 59, 71, 74, 107, 128, 129, 219.

Divorce, 140, 144, 168, 174, 251, 256.

Dog: domesticated, 73, 75, 278, 303; used in hunting, 69, 75, 295.

Dravidian, 281, 285, 287.

Dreams, 190, 194, 196, 197, 200, 222, 255, 260.

Dress, 24-28, 81, 250, 252, 257, 274, 286, 289, 301; ancient type, 24, 44, 136, 207, 244, 245, 278.

Drinking, methods of, 20, 242.

Drum, 39, 41, 90, 225, 226, 242, 243.

EAR PIERCING, 27.

Eating, methods of, 20, 144, 235.

Economics, 9, 15, 24, 57-60, 75, 79, 108, 123, 136, 143, 173, 270, 271, 277, 278, 281, 300, 302-304, 306-308, 312-316, 318, 320-326, 370, 371; changes in economic conditions, 16, 70, 73, 79, 123, 248, 258, 260-262, 270, 300, 306, 307, 312-316.

Education, 127-131, 269; school education, 309, 312, 316, 317, 319, 326.

Eggs, 70, 75.

Eickstedt, E. von, 2, 3, 18.

Elders, 90, 121, 142, 167, 305, 314; *see also* Council of elders.

Elkin, A.P., 284.

Ellamma, 189, 190, 200, 255, 288, 305.

Ellora caves, 3, 4.
Elopement, 140-142, 169-174, 198, 256.
Elpamachena Maisama, 190, 191.
Elwin, V., 22, 247, 273, 288, 322, 325, 327.
Endo-clan unions, 93, 98, 110, 117, 118, 120, 142, 169-173, 186, 304, 336, 337, 339, 347, 360, 362.
Engagement, 136; *see also* Marriage, approaches to,
Endogamous divisions, tendency to form, 299, 300, 303, 307, 308.
Erkala, 309.
Evans, I.H.N., 1.
Evil Spirits, *see* Spirits.
Exogamy: of clan, 87-96, 133, 169-173, 283, 284, 304; of locality, 96, 106, 109, 133, 134, 279, 284, 304, 358.

FAMILY, 46, 53, 59, 61, 87, 107-111, 118, 143, 144, 279.
Faulkes, R., 290, 291.
Feathers, use of, 26, 28, 31, 71.
Ferishta, 6, 44.
Festivals, *see* Ceremonies.
Fire making, 34, 35.
First fruit offerings, *see* Ceremonies.
Fishing, 71, 234, 312.
Food, 49, 57-71, 74, 75, 77, 81, 82, 129, 200, 219, 234, 235, 254, 258, 270, 271; *see also* Cooking; ceremonial food, 77, 82, 136, 138, 147, 155, 168, 181, 182, 187, 188, 190-194, 196-198, 279, 289; no food taboos, 94, 146, 148.
Flowers, use of, 28, 278.
Flute, 40-42.
Forest Administration, 16, 68, 70, 82, 161, 249, 264, 267, 289, 307, 309, 311-316, 320-326, 377-381.
Forest exploitation, 79, 83, 302, 306, 307, 309, 312, 314, 317, 321; minor forest produce, 57, 73, 79-81, 123, 248, 259, 307, 312, 317, 321, 323, 325, 326.
Framboesia (yaws), 105, 151, 307.
Fruit trees, 58, 62-65, 77, 78, 163, 301, 313.
Funeral Rites, 153-158, 194, 279, 288.

GANGAMMA, 21, 128, 149, 157, 192, 193.
Games, 129, 237-241.

Gardens, *see* Agriculture.
Garelamaisama, 69, 146, 147, 149, 180-188, 193, 195, 198, 200, 242, 243, 258, 279-281, 288, 305, 306, 319, 324; in stories, 202-209.
Genealogical Tables, 367.
Gifts, 28, 134, 136, 163-165, 252, 259, 260.
Goats, 75, 229, 261, 302, 312, 313, 315.
Gods, *see* Deities.
Golla, 226, 227, 286, 288, 309.
Gond, 2, 83, 127, 273, 285.
Gourds, 36, 41, 42, 245, 246.
Government schemes for the amelioration of economic position, 75, 76, 258-260, 302, 309, 310, 312-319, 322, 375-381.
Grain, 73, 76-83, 235, 248, 249, 252, 258, 260, 303, 314, 315.
Grandchild-grandparent relationship, 112, 116.
Grass, 33, 35, 44, 50, 52, 154, 234.
Grave, 154-157, 194.
Graziers, 18, 73, 192, 289, 323; Chenchus employed as, 82, 251, 261, 304, 323.
Grigson, W. V., 274, 322, 325.
Guha, B. S., 4, 17, 18, 293.
Gun, 33, 67, 68, 70, 156, 289.
Guruvappa, 149, 189.

HABITATIONS: ancient, 44, 53, 202, 245, 278; *see also* Houses.
Hafting, methods of, 29, 21-33, 293.
Hair, 17, 21, 128, 156, 192.
Hair-dressing, 21, 39, 91, 153, 154, 156, 193, 234.
Hanuman, 190, 255, 305.
Headman (*peddamanchi*), 91, 119-123, 136, 138, 139, 141, 166, 168, 171, 183, 193, 242, 251, 305, 313, 314; *see also* Council of elders.
Herdsmen, *see* Graziers.
Hermits, 3, 226, 308.
Hindu influence, 9, 74, 135, 139, 143, 181, 184, 187, 189, 191, 192, 196, 198, 280, 305, 306, 308, 314, 319, 322.
Honey, 34, 38, 44, 58, 59, 65, 66, 79, 115, 282, 291.
Houses, 44, 45, 49-53, 165, 287, 301, 303, 313; building of, 48-51, 107,

302; care of, 35, 48, 52.
 Household goods, 35-37, 43, 52, 79, 81, 82, 163, 301, 315, 326.
 Hunt, E. H., 286.
 Hunting, 29, 30, 33, 57, 58, 67-71, 129, 130, 234, 237, 248, 258, 260, 312, 326; ceremonies, 69, 180, 181, 187, 193, 258, 279, 280, 281, 319; division of spoils, 68, 163, 258.
 Hunting and collecting grounds, 69, 161, 162, 173, 296.
 Hutton, J. H. 4, 322.

ILLNESS, 57, 104, 108, 111, 151-153, 183, 186, 191, 194, 195, 197, 198-200, 255.
 Improvidence, 57, 58, 234, 314.
 Incest, 92, 93, 110, 117, 118, 120, 133, 142, 169-173, 186, 203, 204, 268, 269, 304; *see also* Endo-clan unions.
 Indian monitor, 14, 30, 69.
 Individualism, 45, 46, 57, 59, 60, 95, 104, 108, 128, 168, 173, 237, 244, 265, 266, 318.
 Infant mortality, 148, 149, 249, 259, 261.
 Inheritance: of land, 97, 105, 106, 161-163; of movable property, 153, 163-166, 173, 258, 260.
 Indo-Negrid, 2.
 Intoxicants, *see* Mohua liquor.
 Iravalu, 90.
 Irlu, 189.
 Iron, 29, 31, 79, 81, 278, 284, 286.
 Iron age, 15, 284-286.
 Irula, 4, 90, 290.
 Iyer, L. A. K., 290, 291.

JAIL, 249, 267, 268.
Jiv, *see* Soul.
 Jurisdiction, 110, 119, 120, 123, 133, 140, 141, 142, 167-175, 305, 314, 318.

KADAR, 290, 291, 293.
 Kanikar, 4, 18, 291-293.
 Kapu, 286, 287, 309.
 Khan, G. A., 4, 92.
 Khasi, 2.
Kineri, 42, 238, 287.
 Kin-group, 47, 48, 107-111, 168, 279.
 Kinsmen, relations between, 65, 104, 109, 110, 115, 131, 154, 155, 171, 296.
 Knife, 33, 79, 164, 245.
 Kongavalu, 90.
 Komati, 286, 309.
 Konrad, P. P., 293.
 Koppers, W., 282, 294.
 Krishna Chenchus, 299.
 Kurumba, 4, 291, 292.

LABOUR: a source of income, 80, 82, 83, 100, 249, 260, 261, 302-304, 306, 307, 312-314, 323; attitude to, 19, 82, 83, 270, 309.
 Lachamma, 76, 77, 189.
 Lactation, 25, 127, 128, 148.
 Lambadi, 18, 179, 192, 286, 288, 289, 309, 313, 323.
 Land Revenue, 77, 258, 316.
 Language, 5, 6, 118, 179, 280, 284, 285.
 Law, 159-175; *see also* Jurisdiction.
 Leather articles, 25, 33, 228, 229.
 Leaf dress, 24, 44, 136, 207, 244, 278.
 Leaf-pipe (*bidi*), 77, 233, 237.
 Leaves, use of, 20, 52, 65, 77, 147, 152, 154, 155.
 Legends, *see* Stories.
 Lepcha, 2, 271.
 Liquor, *see* Mohua liquor.
 Lingamaya, 149, 186, 187, 228, 280, 305, 319.
 Local group, 87, 97, 104-108, 162; cohesion of, 57, 59, 97, 111.

MACFARLANE, B. E. W. E., 293.
 Madiga, 25, 229, 286, 288, 309, 355.
 Madras Chenchus, 5, 9, 17, 24, 34, 67, 78, 87, 116, 183, 184, 250, 265, 270, 309, 311-319, 320, 325; relations with Hyderabad Chenchus, 9, 46, 89, 98, 99, 101-104, 123, 134, 172, 250-253, 304, 319, 338, 364.
 Magic, 198, 199, 249.
 Maheswara, temple of, 16, 286.
 Majumdar, D. N., 294.
 Mala, 286, 287, 288, 309.
 Malid, 3, 4, 18, 278, 285, 290, 291.
 Man, E. H., 1.
 Manna, 291, 292.
 Manu Islanders, 127.
 Maradugu Maisama, 190.
 Markets, *see* Trade and Barter.

Marksmanship, 67, 68, 237.

Marriage, 109, 110, 114, 132-143, 168, 169-174, 249, 250-252, 254-256, 261, 262, 284, 303, 304, 307; approaches to, 132, 133, 135-137, 249, 250-252, 254-256, 287; ceremony of, 24, 82, 102, 119, 136-140, 261, 287.

Matrilineal inheritance, 106, 162, 165, 166, 279, 283, 284, 292.

Matrilocal residence, 103, 106, 107, 108, 116, 121, 137, 162, 205, 209-212, 226, 249, 251, 281, 282, 284, 305.

Measures and measuring, 33, 36, 49.

Meat, 68-70, 74, 75, 180.

Medical Relief, 151, 312, 317, 326.

Medicine, 132, 146, 147, 151, 152, 155, 249.

Melanesian, 2, 271, 274, 291.

Memorial ceremonies, *see* Funeral rites.

Menstruation, 148, 254, 270, 287, 288.

Menon, K. G., 290.

Merchants, dealings with Chenchus, 25, 79-81, 136, 302-304, 312, 315, 326; *see also* Trade and Barter.

Midwife, 132, 145-148.

Milk, 74, 75, 100, 104, 253.

Mills, J. P., 322.

Minor Forest Produce, *see* Forest exploitation.

Miscarriage, *see* Abortion.

Mohua (*Bassia latifolia*), 12, 46; corollæ, eaten, 63, 81, 315; first fruit offerings, 182, 242; liquor, 57, 63, 64, 68, 80, 81, 136, 138, 147, 156, 157, 174, 183, 241, 242, 256, 267, 287, 315; mohua season, 45, 63, 64, 101, 131, 143, 241-243, 246, 255, 267, 303, 358, 363, 364.

Monkey, 14, 90, 225, 226, 245.

Monogamy, 142; *see also* Marriage.

Moral Code, 95, 131, 132, 141, 143, 144, 167-175, 186, 318.

Mother-right, elements of, 282-284, 292.

Mother's brother, 111, 114, 172, 207, 208, 282.

Mourning, *see* Funeral rites.

Muduvan, 291, 292.

Murder, 167-169, 318.

Musical instruments, 40-42, 90, 238, 242-244, 287.

Mutellamma, 192.

Mythology, 89, 186, 201.

NAGA, 2, 127, 271, 273.

Name-giving, 146, 147, 149, 183, 185, 186, 189.

Names: clan, 87, 88, 90, 91, 149; nicknames, 92, 93, 150, 251; personal, 146, 148-150, 186, 189, 190, 192.

Natural phenomena, 185, 201, 280.

Navel cord, 147.

Negrito, 1, 2, 18, 277, 279, 285.

Negro, 2.

Nensalamma, 190.

Nevill, H., 295.

Nicknames, *see* Names.

Nicobarese, 291.

Nomadism, 29, 44-46, 49, 53, 97-103, 108, 109, 119-122, 161, 162, 254, 270, 271, 278, 323, 331, 332, 335-338, 342, 345, 347, 348, 353, 355, 358, 363, 364.

Nose ornaments, *see* Ornaments.

Nose piercing, 27.

OFFERINGS, *see* Ceremonies and Departed.

Omens, 199, 200.

Oraon, 2.

Ornamentation, 30, 35, 36, 39-42, 51, 272.

Ornaments, 25-28, 157, 252, 253, 260, 261, 272, 289; ancient type, 26, 27, 278; inheritance of, 153, 164, 260.

Orphan, 111, 142, 251, 254, 282.

Origin of Chenchus, 89, 201-204, 226, 227.

PALIYAN, 290, 291.

Panchayat, 305, *see also* Council of elders.

Pan-pipe, 41.

Pantaram, 290, 291, 292.

Panya, 4, 18, 293.

Parrot, 80, 220.

Patrilineal descent, 87, 117, 118, 283, 284, 292, 296.

Patrilineal inheritance, 162, 164, 165, 292.

Patrilocal residence, 107, 162, 283, 284, 304, 305.

Peacock, 14, 26, 31, 70, 71, 80, 93, 228, 244.

Pedda Dinal, *see* Funeral Rites.

Peddamanchi, 119-123, *see also* Headman, and Council of elders.

Peddamma, 192, 305.
 Physique, 18, 19, 151.
 Pilgrims, 15, 82, 83, 100, 187, 253, 312, 314.
 Pillai, N. K., 290, 291.
 Placenta, 147.
 Plough cultivation, *see* Agriculture.
 Poison, used in fishing, 71.
 Police, 167, 267.
 Pollution: birth, 146, 148; caste, 288, 309; death, 156-158, 288; menstrual, 132, 148, 287, 288.
 Polygamy, 45, 107, 109, 121, 141, 142, 145, 155, 156, 174, 207-209, 212, 218, 305.
 Potraj, 188, 305.
 Pots, 35, 36, 82, 278, 287, 289.
 Potsamma, 153, 187, 188, 198, 288, 305, 319.
 Poultry, 75, 302, 303, 369.
 Prayers, 76, 77, 138, 139, 147, 154, 155, 180-185, 187-197, 258, 289.
 Prehistory, 1, 2, 15, 278, 285, 286, 294.
 Pregnancy, 132, 133, 143, 145, 146, 149.
 Primitival offerings, 69, 180-183, 187, 279, 281, 319.
 Primogeniture, 121, 122, 164-166.
 Property: communal, 45, 77, 78, 97, 105, 106, 161-163; individual 29, 33, 107, 143, 153, 161, 163-166, 173.
 Puberty, 132, 145, 287, 296.
 Pubic hair, 17, 156.

RACIAL characteristics, 4, 17-19, 285, 293.
 Racial affinities, *see* Affinities.
 Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. 1.
 Raft, 19, 254.
 Rakshasa, Rakshasi (demon), 3, 201, 219, 221, 222-224.
 Recreation, 128, 129, 237-246.
 Reddi, Hill, 83, 283, 290, 293, 324.
 Regional units, 89, 95, 96, 162, 279, 283, 284, 296, 331.
 Reincarnation, 157, 195, 196, 216.
 Relationship terms, 94, 112-117, 131, 172, 282, 283, 287, 372-374.
 Religion, 69, 76, 77, 138, 146, 147, 149, 151-158, 179-198, 250, 258, 272, 278-281, 288, 289, 305, 319, 324.
 Ritual, 59, 193, 288, 289; *see also* Ceremonies.

Rock-shelters, 44, 45, 295.
 Roots, no first fruit offerings for, 182.
 Root collecting, 19, 29, 30, 58, 61-65, 128-130, 147, 234, 235, 253, 302, 303, 313, 315.
 Ropes, 34, 65, 66.
 Roy, Sarat Chandra, 322.
 Russell, R. V. 293.

SACRIFICES, no animal, 193, 289.
Sadhu, *see* Hermit.
 Sarasin, Paul and Fritz, 294.
 Seligman, C. G., 1, 294-296.
 Semang, 277, 279, 285.
 Service for bride, 139, 252, 253.
 Settlements, 44-49; permanent, 44, 45, 47, 48, 89-97, 102-105, 109, 110, 119, 151, 153, 154, 301-303, 306, 312; temporary, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 52, 53, 97-104, 115.
 Sex: attitude to, 107, 271; intercourse, 143.
 Sexual relations: extramarital, 141, 143, 174, 251, 252, 256-258, 318; premarital, 131-133, 143, 172, 174, 253; with animals, 224, 225; with outsiders, 18; with spirit women, 216-222.
 Shah, P. G., 294.
 Shiva, 11, 15, 186, 187, 250, 308, 319.
 Siraj-ul-Hassan, S., 4, 293, 299.
 Skins, use of, 28, 30, 39, 41, 75, 245, 278.
 Small-pox, *see* Disease.
 Smith, V. A., 15.
 Snake-bite, 152.
 String instruments, 42, 238, 287.
 Social organization, 59, 87-123, 278, 279, 281-284, 287, 296, 304.
 Singing, 237, 238, 239, 305, 313, 314, 318, 319.
 Soul, 145, 153, 155, 157, 185, 186, 194-197, 214, 251, 280; methods of determining its fate, 157, 195: transformation into evil ghost, 183, 185, 192, 195, 196, 214.
 Spirits, 146, 183, 185, 192, 195, 196; in stories, 216-222, 271.
 Squirrel, 14, 58, 69, 70, 92.
 Sri Sailam, temple of, 5, 11, 15, 83, 100, 186, 187, 189, 308, 312, 314.
 Stone age, 2, 15, 278, 281, 294.

Strangers, attitude to, 144, 264, 268.
 Still-birth, 145, 147, 154.
 Suicide, 168, 257.
 Swimming, 19, 127, 267.
 Stories, 89, 90, 92, 93, 131, 144, 183, 186, 192, 196, 200, 201-230, 271, 282.
 TABOO, 70, 94, 131, 144, 146, 148, 181, 186, 200, 287, 288.
 Tanning, ignorance of, 39.
 Talisman, 25.
 Tattoo, 21, 22, 261.
 Teknomyms, 113.
 Telugu Chenchus, 299.
 Telugu influence, 118, 151, 153, 179, 187-189, 192, 280, 281, 285-289, 300-304, 306, 307, 309.
 Telugu language, 5, 6, 118, 119, 179, 239, 280, 284, 285.
 Terms of address, *see* Relationship terms.
 Theft, 173, 312, 318.
 Tiger, 14, 70, 153, 180; in stories, 202-212.
 Thunder, 185, 280; *see also* Natural phenomena.
 Thurston, E., 17, 24, 28, 34, 68, 90, 116, 227, 290, 291, 311, 319.
 Tobacco, 45, 77.
 Totemism, 94, 284.
 Toys, 129, 237.
 Trade and Barter, 24-29, 33, 36, 37, 59, 73-75, 79-83, 123, 136, 248, 253, 258, 285, 315, 317, 321, 325, 326, 370, 371.
 Traditions, *see* Stories.
 Traps, absence of, 70.
 Tribal feeling, 59, 87.
 Tree climbing, 19, 64, 66, 258.
 Trees: occurring in habitat, 12; attitude to, 58, 64.
 Twine, 34.
 Twins, 148.
 UNTOUCHABILITY, 288, 291, 309.
 Urali, 291, 292.
 Urdu, 5, 289.
 Urinate, 20.
 Unmarried: life of, 28, 100, 104, 107, 131-135, 143, 174, 249, 253; funeral rites for, 155.
 VANOVERBERGH, M., 1.
 Vedda, 1, 3, 277, 278, 294-296.
 Veddid, 3, 294, 297.
 Vegetables, cultivation of, 57, 77, 261.
 Venkatachar, C. S., 294.
 Venkataram, S. R., 290.
 Vidamma, 189, 222-224, 288, 305, 319.
 Village, *see* Settlements.
 Village community, 45, 57, 97, 105-108, 133, 134, 161, 162, 193, 304, 313, 314, 318, 319, 331-365.
 Village land, 45, 49, 69, 97, 105, 106, 161-163, 168.
 Village Chenchus, 9, 46, 75, 87, 88, 248, 260-262, 289, 298-310, 320, 325, 326.
 Vutikanka, 145, 190, 192, 218-219.
 WADDAR, 76, 259, 286, 309, 355.
 Washing: of clothes, 20, 21, 148, 235; of corpse, 153; of person, 20, 128, 154, 157, 233.
 Water goddess, *see* Gangamma.
 Wattlework, 40, 49-51, 76, 301, 313.
 Weaning, 127, 128.
 Weapons, 29-33.
 Wedding, *see* Marriage.
 Wickerwork, 33, 37, 38.
 Widow, 52, 59, 143, 154, 155, 157, 162, 164, 165, 288; remarriage of, 140, 249, 255, 259, 262; residence of, 103, 107, 109, 162, 164.
 Widower, 59, 103, 107, 137, 140, 154, 250, 254, 259.
 Wind instruments, 40, 41, 238.
 Woodcarving, 35, 40.
 Woman: ideal of, 23, 135, 271, 272; position of, 59, 107, 132, 133, 135, 140, 141, 143, 144, 163, 242, 243, 264, 270, 282, 287, 304, 318; right to inherit, 143, 162-166; *see also* Inheritance; rôle in ceremonial, 182, 193.
 YANADI, 4, 116, 287, 289, 290.
 Yaws, *see* Framboesia.

